FARAGE, REFORM AND THE RUSSIA CONNECTION

Evidence & Sources Compendium

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How this compendium works

This companion is generated directly from the final evidence ledger. Every proposition E001–E168 is reproduced with its evidence grade, source, evidential meaning, caveat and follow-up/status. Inclusion here does not mean a proposition was promoted into the narrative report.

- A — primary or equivalent evidence: court judgments, official registers, parliamentary records, government reports, corporate filings or authenticated primary material.
- B — strong secondary/corroborated evidence: high-quality investigative reporting or documentary reconstruction where some underlying material is not public.
- C — lead/adjacency: potentially relevant but too indirect or incomplete to carry a substantive allegation without further corroboration.
- Counter-evidence, failed leads and exculpatory findings are deliberately retained.

Evidence register

E001 — Gill operation

Subject: Nathan Gill **Date:** 2018-12 to 2019-07 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Gill accepted around £40,000 for parliamentary activity and media access benefiting pro-Russian interests.

What it establishes. Eight bribery counts; sentence 10.5 years; conduct included motions, speeches and media access.

Caveat. Does not establish that Farage or other MEPs knew of the payments.

Source type. CPS / criminal conviction

Source. https://www.cps.gov.uk/cps/news/former-ukip-mep-jailed-taking-bribes

Follow-up / status. Obtain sentencing remarks / prosecution note and extract all named intermediaries and tasks.

E002 — Gill operation

Subject: Nathan Gill / Oleg Voloshyn / Viktor Medvedchuk **Date:** 2018-2019 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Gill was tasked by Oleg Voloshyn; reporting on prosecution material traces the money/instructions upstream to Viktor Medvedchuk.

What it establishes. Links Gill's bribery scheme to Voloshyn and Medvedchuk, a Putin-aligned Ukrainian oligarch/politician.

Caveat. Need primary sentencing/prosecution document for the exact money route.

Source type. Reuters + prosecution reporting

Source. https://www.reuters.com/world/uk/former-reform-uk-politician-jailed-taking-bribes-pro-russians-2025-11-21/

Follow-up / status. Locate court documents and CPS case papers.

E003 — Gill network

Subject: UKIP/Brexit Party MEPs **Date:** 2018-2019 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Gill recruited or attempted to involve other MEPs in media/interventions aligned with tasks set for him.

What it establishes. At least eight MEPs elected under UKIP/Brexit Party were reportedly targets of Gill's efforts.

Caveat. No evidence reported that those MEPs knew Gill was bribed; do not imply criminality.

Source type. CPS documents reported by Guardian

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/dec/07/farage-bloc-meps-alleged-to-have-followed-russian-assets-script-ukip-brexit-party

Follow-up / status. Build named-MEP table with each appearance, speech, trip and denial.

E004 — Gill / Farage proximity

Subject: Nathan Gill / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2014-2020 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Gill was a senior figure in Farage's European political operation and was described by former colleagues as a right-hand man/enforcer.

What it establishes. Establishes political proximity and shared parliamentary environment.

Caveat. Descriptions such as 'right-hand man' are witness characterisations, not formal titles.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/news/ng-interactive/2025/nov/01/reform-a-russian-spy-and-the-bribes-the-inside-story-of-nathan-gill

Follow-up / status. Verify offices, formal roles, group posts, staff overlap and contemporaneous photos/documents.

E005 — Gill aftermath

Subject: UK Government **Date:** 2025-12-16 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Gill's conviction prompted an independent review of foreign financial interference in UK politics.

What it establishes. Government treated the Gill case as evidence of systemic vulnerability.

Caveat. The review was about future safeguards, not a finding against Reform/Farage.

Source type. GOV.UK

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/news/urgent-review-into-foreign-financial-interference-in-uk-politics

Follow-up / status. Use review terms and recommendations in institutional-context chapter.

E006 — Systemic vulnerability

Subject: Rycroft Review **Date:** 2026-03-25 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Rycroft Review made 17 recommendations on foreign financial influence and political finance.

What it establishes. Shows official concern over weaknesses in political-finance safeguards.

Caveat. It does not investigate Farage personally.

Source type. Independent government-commissioned review

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics

Follow-up / status. Extract passages on Gill, bribery, donor checks, crypto, overseas donors and enforcement.

E007 — Referendum evidence gap

Subject: Rycroft Review **Date:** 2025-12 / 2026 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The Rycroft Review explicitly excluded past allegations surrounding the 2016 referendum from scope.

What it establishes. Creates a clear distinction between the Gill-triggered review and unresolved historical referendum questions.

Caveat. Exclusion does not imply wrongdoing in 2016.

Source type. GOV.UK terms of reference

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/foreign-financial-interference-in-uk-politics-independent-review-reviewer-appointment-letter-and-terms-of-reference/independent-review-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics-terms-of-reference

Follow-up / status. Use as rationale for why this report revisits the older documentary trail.

E008 — Russia / referendum

Subject: ISC Russia Report **Date:** 2020-07-21 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The ISC criticised the lack of retrospective assessment of possible Russian interference around the 2016 referendum.

What it establishes. Establishes that government/intelligence did not conduct the kind of retrospective assessment the Committee expected.

Caveat. Must quote exact wording from report before publication.

Source type. Parliamentary intelligence report

Source. https://isc.independent.gov.uk/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/CCS207_CCS0221966010-001_Russia-Report-v02-Web_Accessible.pdf

Follow-up / status. Download and extract exact paragraphs/pages.

E009 — Banks / Russian contacts

Subject: Arron Banks / Russian Embassy **Date:** 2015-2016 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Parliamentary committee material records meetings/contacts between Banks and Russian Embassy personnel and discussions of business opportunities.

What it establishes. Establishes documented diplomatic/business contacts during referendum period.

Caveat. Meeting counts vary depending on whether proposed contacts are included.

Source type. House of Commons committee report

Source. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmcumeds/363/36308.htm

Follow-up / status. Build dated contact ledger from emails and committee exhibits.

E010 — Banks investigation outcome

Subject: Arron Banks / Leave.EU **Date:** 2019 **Grade:** A

Proposition. NCA found no evidence that Banks's referendum loans came from a third party and found no relevant criminal offence in the referred matters.

What it establishes. Important exculpatory finding regarding source of referendum loans.

Caveat. Does not erase or adjudicate every Russia-related contact or influence question.

Source type. National Crime Agency

Source. https://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/news/public-statement-on-nca-investigation-into-suspected-eu-referendum-offences

Follow-up / status. Quote NCA wording prominently wherever financing allegations are discussed.

E011 — Leave.EU compliance

Subject: Leave.EU **Date:** 2016 referendum **Grade:** A

Proposition. Electoral Commission found Leave.EU under-reported spending and exceeded its spending limit.

What it establishes. Establishes electoral-law breaches and inaccurate/incomplete returns.

Caveat. Separate from Russian funding claims.

Source type. Electoral Commission enforcement

Source. https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/media-centre/leaveeu-fined-multiple-breaches-electoral-law-following-investigation

Follow-up / status. Pull final decision and penalty detail.

E012 — Cambridge Analytica caveat

Subject: Leave.EU / Cambridge Analytica **Date:** 2015-2016 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Electoral Commission found no evidence that Leave.EU received reportable paid or donated services from Cambridge Analytica; relationship did not develop beyond scoping.

What it establishes. Prevents overstating CA's operational role in Leave.EU.

Caveat. Other testimony and contacts can still be discussed as contacts/scoping.

Source type. Electoral Commission investigation

Source. https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/political-registration-and-regulation/our-enforcement-work/investigations/investigation-leaveeu-group-limited

Follow-up / status. Keep separate from broader Bannon/Mercer network analysis.

E013 — Farage / RT

Subject: Nigel Farage / RT **Date:** 2010-2014 **Grade:** B

Proposition. By March 2014 Farage had appeared repeatedly on Russian state broadcaster RT; Guardian counted 17 appearances since Dec 2010.

What it establishes. Shows sustained media relationship and platforming by Russian state media.

Caveat. Need exact payment record and complete appearance list; appearance alone is not proof of coordination.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/mar/31/nigel-farage-relationship-russian-media-scrutiny

Follow-up / status. Build RT appearance chronology and locate Farage declarations/fees.

E014 — Farage / Putin rhetoric

Subject: Nigel Farage **Date:** 2014 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Farage publicly expressed admiration for Putin as a political operator/leader while criticising EU leadership.

What it establishes. Documents Farage's public Russia/Putin positioning at time of Crimea.

Caveat. Avoid collapsing 'admiration as operator' into approval of Russian policy.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting / interviews

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/mar/31/nigel-farage-relationship-russian-media-scrutiny

Follow-up / status. Collect original interviews/video/transcripts.

E015 — Farage / Ukraine rhetoric

Subject: Nigel Farage **Date:** 2024-06-21 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Farage said NATO/EU eastward expansion 'provoked' the war while also saying Putin was at fault and used it as an excuse.

What it establishes. Shows continuity/change in Farage's stated causal analysis of Russia-Ukraine conflict.

Caveat. Quote full context; he explicitly assigned fault to Putin as well.

Source type. Reported broadcast interview

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/article/2024/jun/21/russia-was-provoked-into-ukraine-war-claims-nigel-farage

Follow-up / status. Obtain BBC/Panorama transcript and compare with 2014 statements.

E016 — Bannon / Farage

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Farage publicly welcomed Bannon's European populist organising project as potentially useful in EU elections.

What it establishes. Shows Farage's positive engagement with Bannon's European strategy.

Caveat. Does not itself prove formal participation or financing.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/jul/29/farage-bannon-populists-eu-election

Follow-up / status. Build 2016-2020 Farage-Bannon meeting/timeline.

E017 — Bannon / Farage

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2019 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Footage/reporting said Farage discussed potentially fronting Bannon's European project and described it as a fightback against globalists.

What it establishes. Shows discussions went beyond casual acquaintance.

Caveat. Need full footage/transcript and Farage response.

Source type. Investigative reporting / footage

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/22/nigel-farage-discussed-fronting-far-right-group-led-by-steve-bannon

Follow-up / status. Acquire source footage and identify meeting date/location.

E018 — Bannon / Epstein files

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2018-2019 material released by 2026 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Hansard records a Bannon message to Epstein saying he was adviser to several European figures/groups including 'farage' and discussing 92-to-200 EU Parliament seats.

What it establishes. Confirms the wording was put on the parliamentary record and links Farage's name to Bannon's claimed advisory network.

Caveat. This is Bannon's claim, not proof that Farage accepted or recognised a formal advisory role.

Source type. Hansard quoting released correspondence

Source. https://hansard.parliament.uk/html/commons/2026-02-09/WestminsterHall

Follow-up / status. Locate original released email/document, metadata and surrounding thread.

E019 — Bannon denial/qualification

Subject: Nigel Farage / Steve Bannon **Date:** 2026-02-03 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Farage acknowledged meeting Bannon many times but denied Bannon was a formal adviser.

What it establishes. Creates a direct evidential tension between Bannon's description and Farage's qualification.

Caveat. 'Formal adviser' may leave informal advice unresolved; wording matters.

Source type. Press Q&A reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/live/2026/feb/03/peter-mandelson-jeffrey-epstein-house-of-lords-labour-keir-starmer-uk-politics-latest-news-updates

Follow-up / status. Find full video/audio of Farage's answer and transcript verbatim.

E020 — Bannon / Banks

Subject: Steve Bannon / Arron Banks **Date:** 2015 onward **Grade:** B

Proposition. Emails reported Banks sought Bannon/Cambridge Analytica involvement in fundraising/strategy around Brexit.

What it establishes. Shows Bannon relationship extended into Banks/Leave.EU orbit.

Caveat. Electoral Commission found no reportable CA services; distinguish proposal from execution.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/nov/17/arron-banks-emails-steve-bannon-brexit-campaign-funds

Follow-up / status. Locate original email cache / parliamentary exhibits.

E021 — Parliament scrutiny

Subject: Banks / Wigmore **Date:** 2018-06-12 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Banks and Wigmore gave oral evidence to the Commons committee about Russian contacts, Bannon and Cambridge Analytica.

What it establishes. Primary testimony under parliamentary scrutiny.

Caveat. Witness evidence can be contested and must be checked against documents.

Source type. Parliament oral evidence

Source. https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/8090/html/

Follow-up / status. Extract all Russia/Farage/Cottrell/Udod passages and contradictions.

E022 — Parliament scrutiny

Subject: Christopher Wylie / Leave.EU / Cambridge Analytica **Date:** 2018-03-27 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Wylie gave evidence describing CA structure and alleged relationships with Leave.EU/Eldon.

What it establishes. Primary witness testimony useful for leads and contradictions.

Caveat. Not all Wylie claims were upheld by Electoral Commission findings.

Source type. Parliament oral evidence

Source. https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/7803/html/

Follow-up / status. Cross-reference each claim to EC conclusions and documents.

E023 — Bannon project

Subject: Steve Bannon / The Movement **Date:** 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Bannon openly pursued a Europe-wide populist network/project ahead of 2019 European elections.

What it establishes. Establishes the wider organisational context for Bannon's contacts with Farage.

Caveat. Not a Russia connection by itself.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/nov/21/steve-bannon-i-want-to-drive-a-stake-through-the-brussels-vampire-populist-europe

Follow-up / status. Map funders, legal entities, staff, Brussels base and European partners.

E024 — Government response

Subject: HM Government / Rycroft Review **Date:** 2026-07 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Government accepted the Rycroft recommendations and moved to strengthen donor checks, overseas donation controls and crypto rules.

What it establishes. Shows Gill case led to concrete policy changes and official recognition of evolving foreign-finance risk.

Caveat. Prospective safeguards do not prove past violations.

Source type. GOV.UK government response

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-rycroft-review-hm-government-response/the-rycroft-review-hm-government-response-accessible-version

Follow-up / status. Use in concluding chapter on institutional lessons.

E025 — Cottrell / embassy

Subject: George Cottrell / Andy Wigmore / Alexander Udod **Date:** 2016 / reported 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Investigative reporting says Wigmore emailed confidential Cottrell legal documents, including a federal indictment, to Russian embassy political secretary Alexander Udod.

What it establishes. Creates a specific documentary bridge between Farage's aide and a Russian embassy official.

Caveat. Primary email/exhibit still required; do not infer Farage authorised or knew of transmission.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/25/why-wont-nigel-farage-answer-my-brexit-questions

Follow-up / status. Locate original email and compare with Banks/Wigmore parliamentary testimony.

E026 — Farage / Yakovenko

Subject: Nigel Farage / Alexander Yakovenko **Date:** 2013 **Grade:** B

Proposition. A photograph published by the Russian Embassy shows Farage meeting Russian ambassador Alexander Yakovenko in 2013; Farage later acknowledged the meeting after initially denying Russian-official meetings in an interview.

What it establishes. Strengthens the direct-contact chronology.

Caveat. Need original embassy post/date and full Die Zeit interview wording.

Source type. Contemporaneous photo + reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/25/why-wont-nigel-farage-answer-my-brexit-questions

Follow-up / status. Archive original image/post and interview.

E027 — Gill travel funding

Subject: Gill / Arnott / Coburn / travel-funding entity **Date:** 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. European Parliament declarations reportedly showed tickets paid by an entity described by the Guardian as a Russian-intelligence-created front using the name European Centre for Democracy and Human Rights.

What it establishes. Potentially broadens the Gill operation beyond direct bribe payments to travel infrastructure.

Caveat. Must obtain the actual EP declarations and primary evidence about the front entity.

Source type. Investigative reporting based on EP declarations

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/news/ng-interactive/2025/nov/01/reform-a-russian-spy-and-the-bribes-the-inside-story-of-nathan-gill

Follow-up / status. Retrieve declarations, entity records and Polish case material.

E028 — Sass / Farage

Subject: Nadia Sass / Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill **Date:** c.2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Reported photographs show Sass with Farage outside the European Parliament and Farage holding one of her Brexit-themed shirts apparently inside Gill's Strasbourg office.

What it establishes. Establishes personal/physical intersection between Farage and the spouse of Gill's intermediary.

Caveat. Voloshyn says Sass was promoting a T-shirt business and says he never spoke to Farage; contact does not prove knowledge.

Source type. Investigative reporting / photographs

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/news/ng-interactive/2025/nov/01/reform-a-russian-spy-and-the-bribes-the-inside-story-of-nathan-gill

Follow-up / status. Obtain original social posts, timestamps and image metadata.

E029 — Banks Russian business offer

Subject: Arron Banks / Yakovenko / Siman Povarenkin **Date:** 2015 **Grade:** B

Proposition. A leaked presentation described a Russian gold investment opportunity offered to Banks through contacts originating with ambassador Yakovenko; Banks ultimately did not invest.

What it establishes. Shows potentially valuable business opportunity was offered during the referendum period.

Caveat. No completed investment; NCA later found no evidence Banks's referendum loans were funded by a third party.

Source type. Investigative reporting / leaked document

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/aug/09/revealed-detail-of-exclusive-russian-deal-offered-to-arron-banks-in-brexit-run-up

Follow-up / status. Acquire presentation and trace corporate entities.

E030 — Farage wider network

Subject: Kevin Ellul Bonici **Date:** pre-2017 **Grade:** C/D

Proposition. Guardian reporting cited European Parliament sources alleging a Farage-linked staffer was a frequent Russian Embassy visitor and subject to an internal investigation.

What it establishes. Potential additional embassy-access route in Farage's parliamentary media operation.

Caveat. Allegation not yet verified with primary EP findings; person did not respond in cited report.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/25/why-wont-nigel-farage-answer-my-brexit-questions

Follow-up / status. Locate European Parliament investigation records and right of reply.

E031 — Gill sentencing

Subject: Nathan Gill / Oleg Voloshyn / Viktor Medvedchuk **Date:** 2018-2020 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The sentencing judge found that Medvedchuk was the ultimate source of the requests and money Gill received; Gill's phone showed extensive correspondence with Voloshyn from Sept 2018-Dec 2020.

What it establishes. Direct primary finding on the upstream source and the communications trail.

Caveat. Does not establish knowledge by Farage or other MEPs.

Source type. Judiciary sentencing remarks

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Extract each count into a task/payment matrix and cross-match with EP records.

E032 — Gill recruitment

Subject: Nathan Gill / unnamed MEPs **Date:** 2019-02 and 2019-03 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The judge found Gill enlisted British and German MEPs to deliver interviews/commentary following Voloshyn scripts; the case was not put on the basis that those MEPs knew Gill had been promised money.

What it establishes. Primary confirmation that Gill used unwitting colleagues as part of the operation.

Caveat. Names are not in the judgment; constituencies are, and identities require careful reconstruction.

Source type. Judiciary sentencing remarks

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Identify every MEP by constituency/date and obtain the underlying broadcasts/statements.

E033 — Gill payments

Subject: Nathan Gill / Oleg Voloshyn **Date:** 2019-04 to 2020-12 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The sentencing remarks record specific cash payments including €5,000 + $2,000 on 3 Apr 2019, references to $13,000 owed, €4,000 being brought, and $5,000 + €5,000 received in Kyiv in Dec 2020.

What it establishes. Provides a much more granular money trail than the headline £40,000 figure.

Caveat. Aggregate total is difficult to quantify precisely because payments were piecemeal and in cash.

Source type. Judiciary sentencing remarks

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Build denomination/date/payment-purpose ledger.

E034 — Gill Ukraine travel

Subject: Nathan Gill / ECDHR **Date:** 2018-10-30 to 2018-11-02 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Gill's European Parliament declaration states ECDHR paid/reimbursed his business-class flight and two nights at Opera Hotel for a Kyiv 'Fact Finding Trip' to meet 112/NewsOne-related journalists and the Ukrainian broadcast regulator.

What it establishes. Primary proof that a third party named ECDHR financed Gill's travel and accommodation immediately before the bribery period.

Caveat. The declaration itself does not prove ECDHR was controlled by Russian intelligence.

Source type. European Parliament declaration

Source. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/mepdat/124965_TRAV_LEG8_1002474_EN.pdf

Follow-up / status. Identify ECDHR registration, officers, funding and link to Janusz N.

E035 — Arnott Ukraine travel

Subject: Jonathan Arnott / ECDHR **Date:** 2018-10-30 to 2018-10-31 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Arnott's European Parliament declaration states the same ECDHR paid flights and one night at Opera Hotel for a Kyiv fact-finding trip involving 112 and NewsOne.

What it establishes. Primary proof that the same payer financed another British MEP on the trip.

Caveat. No evidence in the declaration that Arnott knew of any Russian intelligence connection.

Source type. European Parliament declaration

Source. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/mepdat/124958_TRAV_LEG8_1002475_EN.pdf

Follow-up / status. Obtain Coburn declaration and compare all itineraries/programmes.

E036 — Janusz N espionage case

Subject: Janusz N. / Russian intelligence **Date:** 2016-2021; indictment 2024 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Polish prosecutors and ABW say Janusz N., embedded among Polish and European parliamentarians, carried out paid tasks for Russian civilian intelligence involving propaganda, disinformation, political provocations and recruitment/targeting of politicians.

What it establishes. Official primary allegation/indictment describing a Russian-intelligence political-influence operation aimed at European politicians.

Caveat. Polish sources identify him only as Janusz N.; linking him to the ECDHR payer entity must be independently proved.

Source type. Polish prosecution / counter-intelligence

Source. https://www.gov.pl/web/sluzby-specjalne/akt-oskarzenia-przeciwko-obywatelowi-rp-podejrzanemu-o-szpiegostwo-na-rzecz-rosyjskich-sluzb-specjalnych

Follow-up / status. Obtain indictment/court outcome and entity records linking Janusz N. to ECDHR.

E037 — Cottrell / Russian Embassy

Subject: Andy Wigmore / George Cottrell / Russian Embassy **Date:** 2016; parliamentary report 2018 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The Commons DCMS interim report records that Wigmore denied contacting the Russian Embassy about Cottrell, but notes a public email sent by him with six attachments including FBI documents and the Cottrell indictment.

What it establishes. Moves the Cottrell-Udod route from press-only reporting to an official parliamentary finding that the email existed.

Caveat. The report excerpt does not itself identify the recipient on the displayed page; underlying email still needed for Udod attribution.

Source type. House of Commons committee report

Source. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmcumeds/363/363.pdf

Follow-up / status. Retrieve footnote 227 source and full email metadata/recipient.

E038 — Bannon / Epstein document

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2018-03 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. A document in DOJ Epstein Data Set 10, Bates EFTA01614968, contains an iMessage in which Bannon says he is now an 'advisor' to several European parties/figures including 'farage' and discusses increasing their European Parliament bloc from 92 to 200 seats.

What it establishes. Confirms the underlying document is part of the DOJ production; independent corpus extraction supplies the specific text and Bates/page location.

Caveat. Bannon's claim is not proof Farage regarded him as an adviser; direct DOJ page extraction still desirable.

Source type. DOJ dataset provenance + extracted source text

Source. https://www.justice.gov/epstein/doj-disclosures/data-set-10-files

Follow-up / status. Archive EFTA01614968 PDF and surrounding messages; compare with Farage's Feb 2026 denial of a formal relationship.

E039 — Gill recruited MEPs

Subject: William Dartmouth / Steven Woolfe / Jonathan Arnott / Arne Gericke **Date:** 2019-02-06 to 2019-02-07 **Grade:** B

Proposition. CPS sentencing material reported after Gill's conviction identifies the MEPs recruited for the February 2019 112 Ukraine interventions as Dartmouth (South West), Woolfe (North West), Arnott (North East) and German MEP Gericke.

What it establishes. Names the constituency-coded participants in Count 4.

Caveat. The sentencing judge expressly said there was no evidence these MEPs knew Gill had been promised money; original CPS sentencing note still preferred.

Source type. CPS sentencing note as reported by Guardian

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/nov/21/nathan-gill-former-reform-uk-wales-leader-jailed-bribes-pro-russia-statements-mep

Follow-up / status. Obtain and archive the CPS sentencing note and the four broadcasts.

E040 — Gill recruited MEPs

Subject: Jonathan Bullock / Julia Reid / Steven Woolfe **Date:** 2019-03-25 to 2019-03-27 **Grade:** B

Proposition. The CPS later named Bullock, Reid and Woolfe among British MEPs whose March 2019 112 Ukraine commentary followed lines supplied to Gill by Voloshyn.

What it establishes. Identifies three of the British participants referred to in Count 6.

Caveat. No suggestion they knew Gill was bribed or committed criminal offences.

Source type. CPS information reported by Guardian

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/dec/07/farage-bloc-meps-alleged-to-have-followed-russian-assets-script-ukip-brexit-party

Follow-up / status. Obtain the underlying CPS material and archive each 25/27 March clip.

E041 — Gill wider network

Subject: David Coburn **Date:** 2019-04 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Messages disclosed in the Gill case referred to a 'David' in connection with the 112 Ukraine/NewsOne editorial board and sums of money; reporting identifies Coburn as the only known board member by that name. Coburn denies receiving payments.

What it establishes. Creates a separate unresolved payment question involving a close Gill associate and fellow MEP.

Caveat. No public evidence proves Coburn accepted a bribe; he expressly denies doing so.

Source type. CPS messages + BBC/Guardian reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/nov/28/ukip-mep-denies-taking-money-promote-russian-interests-daivd-coburn-nathan-gill

Follow-up / status. Obtain complete WhatsApp exchange and police/CPS treatment of the 'David' references.

E042 — ECDHR / Niedzwiecki

Subject: Janusz Niedźwiecki / European Council on Democracy and Human Rights **Date:** 2017-2020 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Anton Shekhovtsov's EPDE report documents Niedźwiecki launching the European Council on Democracy and Human Rights (ECDHR) website in March 2017, describes it as his organisation, reproduces letters signed by him as its president, and records its work recruiting politicians for Russia-related observation/influence activity.

What it establishes. Substantially strengthens the identity link between Janusz Niedźwiecki and the ECDHR network.

Caveat. Not itself a court judgment; some conclusions are analytical and need to be distinguished from reproduced primary documents.

Source type. Specialist investigative report with reproduced documents

Source. https://www.fakeobservers.org/fake-election-observers/details/savoini-gianluca.html?file=files%2FEPDE_BO_DB%2FEPDE+Reports%2FAnton+Shekhovtsov+-+The+Rise+and+Fall+of+a+Polish+Agent+of+the+Kremlin+Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Archive annex letters, EURid/domain material and any Polish organisational registration.

E043 — ECDHR / Gill travel

Subject: Janusz Niedźwiecki / Nathan Gill / Jonathan Arnott / David Coburn **Date:** 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Shekhovtsov's report states Niedźwiecki's ECDHR paid for the Kyiv trip by Gill, Arnott and Coburn; the report cites their European Parliament declarations and reproduces wider correspondence showing Niedźwiecki coordinating Gill's travel on behalf of Voloshyn and Nadia Borodi/Sass.

What it establishes. Provides the strongest current bridge from the named travel payer to Niedźwiecki and onward to Voloshyn/Sass.

Caveat. The EP declarations reportedly used a confusing Transparency Register number belonging to a different Brussels human-rights NGO; exact payer identity must be explained carefully.

Source type. Specialist report + EP declarations + reproduced correspondence

Source. https://democratic-integrity.eu/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Obtain Coburn declaration and the annex correspondence in original/archived form.

E044 — ECDHR Russian links

Subject: Janusz Niedźwiecki / ECDHR / Russian Peace Foundation / Leonid Slutsky **Date:** 2017-2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. The Shekhovtsov report reproduces a January 2018 ECDHR invitation signed by Niedźwiecki offering all-expenses-paid observation of Russia's presidential election and naming the Russian Peace Foundation as ECDHR's 'Russian partner and official host'.

What it establishes. Shows institutional cooperation between Niedźwiecki's ECDHR and a Russian partner in political-observation activity before the Gill trip.

Caveat. Does not by itself prove Russian intelligence controlled ECDHR.

Source type. Reproduced primary letter in specialist report

Source. https://www.fakeobservers.org/fake-election-observers/details/savoini-gianluca.html?file=files%2FEPDE_BO_DB%2FEPDE+Reports%2FAnton+Shekhovtsov+-+The+Rise+and+Fall+of+a+Polish+Agent+of+the+Kremlin+Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Cross-check Russian Peace Foundation/Slutsky roles in official sanctions/intelligence sources.

E045 — Bannon / Farage pre-2018

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2016; testimony Jan 2018 **Grade:** A

Proposition. In sworn/transcribed House Intelligence Committee testimony, Bannon acknowledged meeting Farage during the Brexit period but denied providing political consultation or support, describing the relationship then as news/radio activity.

What it establishes. Provides a primary baseline for how Bannon described the Farage relationship before his later 'advisor' message.

Caveat. This testimony addresses the Brexit-period relationship, not necessarily later 2017-18 political activity.

Source type. US House Intelligence Committee testimony

Source. https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/steve_bannon_testimony_jan_16_2018.pdf

Follow-up / status. Extract full Farage passages and compare chronologically with later meetings/messages.

E046 — Bannon / Farage evolution

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2017-10 to 2019-05 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Footage from The Brink records an October 2017 Washington meeting where Bannon proposed a global populist alliance and Farage said he liked the concept; later footage/reporting shows continued planning discussions and frequent texting by 2019.

What it establishes. Shows a clear evolution from media contact to political-strategy discussion.

Caveat. Farage ultimately kept The Movement formally at arm's length and said Bannon was not his adviser.

Source type. Documentary footage / contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2019/may/22/nigel-farage-discussed-fronting-far-right-group-led-by-steve-bannon

Follow-up / status. Obtain full documentary/outtakes and build meeting-by-meeting chronology.

E047 — Bannon / Farage / Modrikamen

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage / Mischaël Modrikamen **Date:** 2018-07 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Reuters reporting says Modrikamen met Bannon in London after Farage prompted the introduction; the encounter helped relaunch The Movement as a European populist project.

What it establishes. Shows Farage acting as a connector within Bannon's European organising network.

Caveat. Political networking is not a Russia connection by itself.

Source type. Reuters

Source. https://www.euronews.com/2018/07/23/former-trump-aide-bannon-sets-up-group-to-undermine-eu

Follow-up / status. Map attendees, Farage's role and any material support promised or delivered.

E048 — Bannon / Epstein chronology

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage / Jeffrey Epstein **Date:** 2018-03-09 onward **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. The DOJ-linked EFTA01614968 iMessage thread begins on 9 March 2018 during Bannon's European political tour; within the document Bannon later says he is an adviser to 'farage' and other European political actors ahead of the 2019 European elections.

What it establishes. Places the 'advisor' claim in a dated European-organising context rather than as an isolated name mention.

Caveat. The indexed site is independent; archive the DOJ original PDF for final publication.

Source type. DOJ dataset provenance + indexed document text

Source. https://epstein-data.com/EFTA01614968

Follow-up / status. Download original EFTA01614968 from DOJ and compare timestamps with Bannon's European itinerary.

E049 — Gill pre-bribery Ukraine

Subject: Nathan Gill / Janusz Niedźwiecki / Oleg Voloshyn / Nadia Borodi(Sass) / Oleksandr Vilkul **Date:** 2018-05 **Grade:** B

Proposition. EPDE's Shekhovtsov report says Niedźwiecki coordinated Gill's spring 2018 Ukraine trip on behalf of Voloshyn and Borodi/Sass; Gill accompanied Vilkul and Voloshyn at 9 May 'Victory March' events in Kryvyi Rih and Dnipro. The trip was reportedly funded by Vilkul's Ukrainian Perspective Fund.

What it establishes. Pushes Gill's contact with Voloshyn/Sass back months before the November 2018 trip that the sentencing judge described as the genesis of the bribery relationship.

Caveat. Need Gill's original EP declaration and Annex 4 correspondence in source form; 'genesis' in judgment may refer to bribery relationship rather than first contact.

Source type. EPDE specialist report citing EP declaration and reproduced correspondence

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Archive declaration 1002264 and Annex 4 correspondence.

E050 — Gill Moldova trip

Subject: Nathan Gill / ECDHR / Andrey Nazarov / Moldo-Russian Economic Forum **Date:** 2018-09-20 to 2018-09-22 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Gill attended the Moldo-Russian Economic Forum in Chisinau. EPDE says his flights and hotel were paid by Niedźwiecki's ECDHR; a European Parliament-hosted invitation identifies Andrey Nazarov of Business Russia and the MREF organising committee as inviter.

What it establishes. Shows another externally supported Russia-linked political/business event involving Gill before the bribery period.

Caveat. Need the actual Gill declaration for payer confirmation and exact itinerary.

Source type. European Parliament invitation + EPDE analysis

Source. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/mepdat/attach/124965_1242d397-d718-4971-a116-8b04969f7040_2.pdf

Follow-up / status. Archive declaration 1002263 and event programme.

E051 — Moldo-Russian network

Subject: Nathan Gill / Manuel Ochsenreiter / Siegbert Droese / Maria Antoniou **Date:** 2018-09 **Grade:** B

Proposition. EPDE records Gill on the forum panel 'Moldova: Between East and West', moderated by Manuel Ochsenreiter and joined by AfD MP Siegbert Droese and Greek MP Maria Antoniou, who had participated in a Russia election-monitoring mission.

What it establishes. Places Gill in a recurring transnational network of Russia-friendly election-observation and political actors.

Caveat. Association at a conference is not evidence of coordination or wrongdoing.

Source type. EPDE report citing forum programme

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Obtain programme and investigate Ochsenreiter's role one degree out.

E052 — International Editorial Board

Subject: Gill / Coburn / Gericke / Voloshyn / 112 Ukraine / NewsOne **Date:** 2019-02 **Grade:** B

Proposition. EPDE says Niedźwiecki accompanied 112 Ukraine/NewsOne managers, Voloshyn and Borodi/Sass to Strasbourg to create an International Editorial Board including Gill, Coburn, Gericke and channel executives. Gill declared the board role unremunerated.

What it establishes. Shows institutional embedding of MEPs into the channels Gill was being paid to support.

Caveat. Unremunerated declaration should be stated; does not establish the others knew of Gill's bribes.

Source type. EPDE report citing 112 Ukraine and EP financial declaration

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Retrieve Gill's financial-interest declaration and archived 112 announcement.

E053 — December 2019 EP event

Subject: Nathan Gill / James Wells / Tatjana Zdanoka / Shaffaq Mohammed / Voloshyn / Niedźwiecki / Borodi **Date:** 2019-12-18 **Grade:** B

Proposition. EPDE records an ECDHR-organised Strasbourg event on media freedom in Ukraine attended by Gill, Brexit Party MEP James Wells, Tatjana Zdanoka and Liberal Democrat MEP Shaffaq Mohammed; Voloshyn, Niedźwiecki and Borodi/Sass were among the main participants.

What it establishes. Demonstrates that the Voloshyn/Niedźwiecki political-access network continued after Gill's bribery counts and reached another Brexit Party MEP.

Caveat. No evidence Wells or Mohammed knew of Gill's bribery or acted improperly.

Source type. EPDE report

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Locate programme, invitations, video/photos, and each MEP's account.

E054 — ECDHR influence claims

Subject: ECDHR / European Parliament **Date:** 2019-09 **Grade:** C/B

Proposition. EPDE reports ECDHR claimed it and Ukrainian partners held more than 60 meetings with MEPs from all political groups while promoting its Ukraine media-freedom report.

What it establishes. Suggests a much wider attempted influence footprint than the Gill circle alone.

Caveat. The '60 meetings' figure is ECDHR's own unverified claim; it must not be presented as independently confirmed.

Source type. EPDE quoting ECDHR's own claim

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Seek calendars, invitations, attendee lists and archived ECDHR material.

E055 — Russian Peace Foundation

Subject: Leonid Slutsky / Russian Peace Foundation / ECDHR **Date:** 2017-2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. EPDE and academic literature describe the Russian Peace Foundation, headed by Duma foreign-affairs figure Leonid Slutsky, as funding/hosting foreign election-observation missions recruited through Niedźwiecki's ECDHR.

What it establishes. Provides upstream Russian institutional context for the recruitment model used by ECDHR.

Caveat. This does not prove the Foundation funded Gill's Moldova or Ukraine trips specifically.

Source type. EPDE + ICCT academic report

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Cross-check sanctions records, RPF records and trip-specific funding.

E056 — Gill Moscow 2021

Subject: Nathan Gill **Date:** 2021-09-13 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The sentencing judge records that Gill was apprehended at Manchester Airport while travelling to Russia, saying his journey was at the behest of a scientific conference in Moscow.

What it establishes. Establishes a further Russia-bound trip after Gill's MEP tenure and after his communications with Voloshyn had extended through Dec 2020.

Caveat. The judgment does not identify the conference or show that the trip was connected to the bribery scheme.

Source type. Judiciary sentencing remarks

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Identify conference, organiser, invitation, payer and intended participants.

E057 — Farage / Yakovenko

Subject: Nigel Farage / Alexander Yakovenko **Date:** 2013-05 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian reporting based on Russian Embassy material says Farage met Yakovenko in May 2013; RT-era reporting identified Yakovenko as then Russian deputy foreign minister/ambassadorial figure who had taken interest in Farage.

What it establishes. Establishes direct Russian diplomatic contact before Crimea and Brexit.

Caveat. Need archived embassy page and exact official title/date.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting / embassy photograph

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/mar/31/nigel-farage-relationship-russian-media-scrutiny

Follow-up / status. Archive Russian Embassy post/photo and any meeting note.

E058 — Farage / RT

Subject: Nigel Farage / Russia Today **Date:** 2010-12 to 2014-03 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian reviewed 17 Farage RT appearances from Dec 2010 to Mar 2014 and noted RT itself described him as a special and 'endlessly quotable' British guest.

What it establishes. Shows sustained Russian state-media platform relationship predating Brexit referendum.

Caveat. Appearance does not establish editorial coordination; exact fees/payments still unresolved.

Source type. Contemporaneous media review

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/mar/31/nigel-farage-relationship-russian-media-scrutiny

Follow-up / status. Build appearance-by-appearance archive and payment ledger.

E059 — Farage Russia rhetoric

Subject: Nigel Farage / Vladimir Putin **Date:** 2014-09-16 **Grade:** A

Proposition. In a European Parliament debate, Farage called EU policy an 'unnecessary provocation of Vladimir Putin', said the West had provoked the Ukraine crisis, and argued Putin was 'on our side' against Islamic extremism.

What it establishes. Primary evidence of Farage's contemporaneous framing of the Ukraine conflict after Crimea.

Caveat. He also said 'whatever we may think of him as a human being'; rhetoric is not proof of Russian direction.

Source type. European Parliament verbatim record

Source. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/CRE-8-2014-09-16-ITM-004_EN.html

Follow-up / status. Use exact transcript and compare with 2015/2024 statements.

E060 — Farage Russia rhetoric

Subject: Nigel Farage **Date:** 2015-03-11 **Grade:** A

Proposition. In European Parliament, Farage said EU territorial ambitions provoked the overthrow of Yanukovych and 'we have provoked this crisis'.

What it establishes. Shows continuity of the same causal framing into 2015.

Caveat. Foreign-policy opinion, not evidence of improper contact.

Source type. European Parliament verbatim record

Source. https://www.europarl.europa.eu/doceo/document/CRE-8-2015-03-11-ITM-006_EN.html

Follow-up / status. Add to rhetoric chronology.

E061 — Farage staff / Russian Embassy

Subject: Kevin Ellul Bonici / EFDD / Russian Embassy Brussels **Date:** 2014-2016 **Grade:** B/C

Proposition. Guardian reported two former EFDD staffers saying senior staff member Kevin Ellul Bonici was known as a frequent Russian Embassy visitor; an EP security memo reportedly found he helped distribute 'Red Dalia', a book attacking Lithuanian President Dalia Grybauskaite, with three others including a Russian citizen.

What it establishes. Potentially identifies a Russia-facing access point inside Farage's parliamentary secretariat.

Caveat. Guardian expressly says there is no evidence Farage knew of the embassy relationship or book stunt; original memo required.

Source type. Guardian citing former staff and confidential EP security memo

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/18/nigel-farage-party-staffer-russian-embassy-smear-campaign-kremlin-critic

Follow-up / status. Obtain EP security memo and employment records.

E062 — Farage / Rohrabacher

Subject: Nigel Farage / Dana Rohrabacher **Date:** pre-2017 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian documented a personal relationship between Farage and US congressman Dana Rohrabacher, including a shared fishing photograph; Rohrabacher was widely scrutinised for pro-Russia positions and Kremlin contacts.

What it establishes. Adds another Russia-relevant person in Farage's US network.

Caveat. Rohrabacher denied being a Russian asset; friendship with Farage does not imply shared conduct.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/dec/18/nigel-farage-party-staffer-russian-embassy-smear-campaign-kremlin-critic

Follow-up / status. Obtain primary photo/context and official US findings on Rohrabacher.

E063 — Farage / Assange

Subject: Nigel Farage / Julian Assange / LBC **Date:** 2017-03 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Farage visited the Ecuadorian Embassy and met Julian Assange; LBC later said it was an exploratory meeting for a possible interview and was not set up at Farage's instigation.

What it establishes. Establishes direct contact with Assange during the period of US Russia/WikiLeaks investigations.

Caveat. No evidence this meeting related to Russian hacking; LBC explanation must be included.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting + LBC statement

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/25/why-wont-nigel-farage-answer-my-brexit-questions

Follow-up / status. Archive BuzzFeed footage, LBC statement and Farage's initial response.

E064 — Farage / Trump-Bannon orbit

Subject: Nigel Farage / Trump / Steve Bannon / Banks / Wigmore **Date:** 2016-08 to 2016-11 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Farage campaigned alongside Trump in Mississippi in Aug 2016 and, after Trump's election, visited Trump Tower with Banks/Wigmore; Washington Post reports Farage called Bannon to gain access to the meeting.

What it establishes. Places Farage at the centre of the transatlantic political network that also included Banks/Wigmore's Russian Embassy contacts.

Caveat. No evidence the Trump meetings themselves were Russia-related.

Source type. Washington Post / contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-the-bad-boys-of-brexit-forged-ties-with-russia-and-the-trump-campaign--and-came-under-investigators-scrutiny/2018/06/28/6e3a5e9c-7656-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e_story.html

Follow-up / status. Overlay with Banks/Wigmore Yakovenko meetings immediately before/after.

E065 — Farage / FBI reporting

Subject: Nigel Farage **Date:** 2017-06 **Grade:** C/B

Proposition. Guardian reported sources saying Farage was considered a 'person of interest' in the FBI's Trump-Russia investigation because of relationships with individuals under scrutiny; Farage denied wrongdoing.

What it establishes. Shows US investigators reportedly viewed Farage's network as potentially relevant.

Caveat. 'Person of interest' was not a formal legal designation or allegation of criminal conduct; no public Mueller finding charged Farage.

Source type. Investigative reporting based on intelligence sources

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2017/jun/01/nigel-farage-is-person-of-interest-in-fbi-investigation-into-trump-and-russia

Follow-up / status. Search Mueller records, FBI releases and witness testimony for direct references.

E066 — Farage / Soros rhetoric

Subject: Nigel Farage **Date:** 2017-2018 **Grade:** C/B

Proposition. Farage publicly used claims about George Soros funding/collusion while defending Brexit-era networks; similar narratives were prominent in Kremlin and Orbán-aligned propaganda ecosystems.

What it establishes. Potential rhetorical overlap worth documenting as influence/amplification context.

Caveat. Narrative similarity is not evidence of coordination and should not be framed as such.

Source type. Public speeches/reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2018/nov/25/why-wont-nigel-farage-answer-my-brexit-questions

Follow-up / status. Find primary Farage speech/video and trace first use chronologically.

E067 — Count 2 proximity

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill / Nadia Sass(Borodi) **Date:** 2018-12 mid-month **Grade:** B/C

Proposition. Byline Times reports photographs placing Sass/Borodi with Farage outside the European Parliament and apparently inside Gill's Strasbourg office in mid-December 2018, around Gill's first bribery-linked intervention defending 112 Ukraine and NewsOne.

What it establishes. Establishes a potentially direct physical intersection between Farage, Gill's office and Voloshyn's wife during the first bribery episode.

Caveat. Exact photograph date and original social-media provenance still need to be archived; no evidence this proves Farage knew of bribery.

Source type. Investigative reporting based on photographs/calendar

Source. https://bylinetimes.com/2025/10/11/stunned-farages-admission-he-knew-nathan-gill-but-not-his-pro-russian-sympathies-does-not-stand-up-to-scrutiny/

Follow-up / status. Preserve original images/posts, metadata and Gill office calendar; reconcile 11/12 Dec speech-date discrepancy.

E068 — Count 6 proximity

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill **Date:** 2019-03-25 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. LBC's archived 25 March 2019 broadcast states Farage was live from Strasbourg. Gill's sentencing remarks say the first Count 6 scripted commentary was disseminated that same day.

What it establishes. Places Farage in Strasbourg on a Count 6 date while Gill's operation was producing scripted commentary.

Caveat. No evidence Farage met Gill or knew about the commentary/payment that day.

Source type. LBC archive + judicial sentencing remarks

Source. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Cnas89Ndmdk ; https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Check EP attendance, office access and meeting records for 25 March.

E069 — Count 6 proximity

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill **Date:** 2019-03-27 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. European Parliament multimedia records Farage activity/photos on 27 March 2019; Gill's sentencing remarks say four further MEP commentaries following Voloshyn's lines were disseminated on 27 March.

What it establishes. Supports Farage's presence in the Parliament environment on the second Count 6 dissemination date.

Caveat. Does not establish contact with Gill or awareness of Gill's scheme.

Source type. European Parliament multimedia + judicial sentencing remarks

Source. https://multimedia.europarl.europa.eu/sl/person/2864/farage-nigel-ni-uk ; https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Retrieve exact EP media assets/locations and Farage diary.

E070 — Count 5 partial non-overlap

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill **Date:** 2019-03-14 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Gill delivered the scripted Count 5 speech in the European Parliament on 14 March. Dulwich College's yearbook records Farage as host of the Old Alleynian Golf Society annual dinner at London's East India Club that evening.

What it establishes. Shows Farage had a documented London commitment that evening, weakening any assumption he was beside Gill throughout that day.

Caveat. Does not prove Farage was absent from Strasbourg earlier in the day; London-Strasbourg travel is possible.

Source type. Judicial remarks + contemporaneous institutional yearbook

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf ; https://www.dulwich.org.uk/uploaded/documents/Old_Alleynians/Dulwich_College_Yearbook_114th_Issue.pdf

Follow-up / status. Check Farage EP/LBC activity on 14 March and travel schedule.

E071 — Count 8 target pool

Subject: Nathan Gill / Brexit Party MEPs / unidentified 'leading figure' **Date:** 2019-05 to 2019-07 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. At sentencing the prosecution said Voloshyn asked Gill to book a room and invite Brexit Party colleagues to Medvedchuk's Donbas presentation; various names were mentioned including a 'leading figure'. Gill said he could 'drag a few in'.

What it establishes. Shows Gill was being paid specifically to recruit newly elected members of Farage's party into Medvedchuk's presentation.

Caveat. The 'leading figure' is not publicly identified; it must not be assumed to mean Farage.

Source type. Open-court prosecution reported by PA/Independent/Standard

Source. https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/crime/nathan-gill-reform-russia-bribes-sentence-b2869712.html

Follow-up / status. Obtain prosecution note/messages identifying names; compare with actual attendees.

E072 — Medvedchuk event attendance

Subject: Nathan Gill / Alexandra Phillips / Viktor Medvedchuk **Date:** 2019-07-17 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Contemporaneous Ukrainian reporting identifies Gill beside Medvedchuk at the Strasbourg roundtable and records Brexit Party MEP Alexandra Phillips among attendees.

What it establishes. Confirms the paid recruitment effort reached at least one other Brexit Party MEP at the eventual event.

Caveat. No evidence Phillips knew Gill had been bribed; Farage is not listed as an attendee in the report.

Source type. Contemporaneous Ukrainian reporting

Source. https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/news/2019/07/17/7098596/

Follow-up / status. Archive photos/video, attendee list and Phillips's account.

E073 — Count 9 / Medvedchuk event Farage proximity

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill / Viktor Medvedchuk **Date:** 2019-07-17 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. LBC states Farage broadcast live from the European Parliament in Strasbourg on 17 July 2019. The same day Gill submitted the Count 9 written question and hosted Medvedchuk's Donbas peace-plan presentation inside the Parliament.

What it establishes. Establishes Farage and Gill/Medvedchuk activity in the same Parliament complex on the same day at the culmination of Counts 8-9.

Caveat. No evidence located that Farage attended the Medvedchuk event, met Medvedchuk or knew Gill was paid.

Source type. LBC + European Parliament + judicial remarks + contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.lbc.co.uk/article/the-nigel-farage-show-17th-july-2019-DWyS7T_2/ ; https://www.europarl.europa.eu/meps/en/124965/NATHAN_GILL/history/9 ; https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/11/R-v-Nathan-Gill.pdf

Follow-up / status. Obtain Farage calendar, event room/time, visitor/attendance records and full attendee imagery.

E074 — Putin follow-through

Subject: Viktor Medvedchuk / Vladimir Putin **Date:** 2019-07-18 **Grade:** B

Proposition. The day after the Strasbourg presentation, Medvedchuk told Putin about his European Parliament meetings and peace-plan presentation.

What it establishes. Shows the Strasbourg event was immediately reported upward to Putin by Medvedchuk.

Caveat. Does not prove Putin directed Gill or knew the mechanics of Gill's bribe arrangement beyond the judge's finding that Medvedchuk was ultimate source of requests/money.

Source type. Interfax reporting of Putin-Medvedchuk meeting

Source. https://en.interfax.com.ua/news/general/601362.html

Follow-up / status. Locate Kremlin transcript/video and compare wording.

E075 — 2016 Trump/Russia contact sequence

Subject: Banks / Wigmore / Farage / Yakovenko / Trump / Bannon **Date:** 2016-08-19 to 2016-11-15 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Banks and Wigmore lunched with Yakovenko on 19 Aug; days later travelled with Farage to meet Trump in Mississippi. On 12 Nov Farage, Banks and Wigmore met Trump at Trump Tower with Bannon-linked access; on 15 Nov Banks and Wigmore met Yakovenko again and briefed him on the Trump meeting, sharing transition contact information.

What it establishes. Creates a precise temporal bridge between Farage's Trump/Bannon activity and Banks/Wigmore's Russian diplomatic contacts.

Caveat. No reliable evidence located that Farage attended the 15 Nov Yakovenko meeting; do not repeat sources that say he did.

Source type. Washington Post + BAILII judgment

Source. https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/how-the-bad-boys-of-brexit-forged-ties-with-russia-and-the-trump-campaign--and-came-under-investigators-scrutiny/2018/06/28/6e3a5e9c-7656-11e8-b4b7-308400242c2e_story.html ; https://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/QB/2022/1417.html

Follow-up / status. Build day-level source table and obtain underlying emails/calendars.

E076 — Cottrell document timing

Subject: Andy Wigmore / George Cottrell / Russian Embassy / Farage circle **Date:** 2016-08-19 to 2016-08-25 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian reporting says Wigmore appears to have sent Cottrell legal/FBI material to the Russian Embassy on 20 Aug, one day after the Yakovenko lunch and days before Farage/Banks/Wigmore travelled to Mississippi to meet Trump.

What it establishes. Places the Cottrell-document transmission inside the same exceptionally compressed August 2016 Russia/Trump sequence.

Caveat. Recipient identity and full metadata still need primary-document verification; no evidence Farage authorised it.

Source type. Investigative reporting + parliamentary corroboration of email existence

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/16/leave-eu-russia-arron-banks-andy-wigmore

Follow-up / status. Obtain DCMS exhibit/footnote 227 email and metadata.

E077 — Farage prior knowledge of Ukraine travel

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill **Date:** pre-2018 trip; admission Oct 2025 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Farage told BBC Wales that Gill had told him 'we're going on a visit to Ukraine, do you want to come?' Farage said he told Gill not to go and later said all he knew was that Gill had been to Ukraine.

What it establishes. Establishes Farage had contemporaneous knowledge that Gill was planning at least one Ukraine trip and was personally invited to join it.

Caveat. Does not establish Farage knew who Gill would meet, who funded the trip, or that Gill would make paid statements.

Source type. BBC Wales interview reported verbatim

Source. https://bbclatestnews.pages.dev/news/articles/cdx21gzl9dlo

Follow-up / status. Identify which Gill Ukraine trip Farage was invited to and obtain full BBC video/transcript.

E078 — Gill / Farage organisational proximity

Subject: Nathan Gill / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2014-2020 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Luke Harding's 2026 book extract reports that Gill and Farage had adjoining offices in Strasbourg and describes sources saying Gill coordinated closely with Farage; Guardian reporting similarly quotes a former UKIP MEP calling Gill Farage's 'right-hand' figure.

What it establishes. Strengthens organisational proximity beyond occasional campaigning.

Caveat. Source characterisations are not formal job descriptions; office allocation records still desirable.

Source type. Recent investigative book extract + earlier reporting

Source. https://www.thenerve.news/p/luke-harding-betrayal-book-extract-nathan-gill-ukip-reform-voloshyn-bribes-russia

Follow-up / status. Retrieve European Parliament office allocation plans and staff directories.

E079 — Gill Moscow conference identified

Subject: Nathan Gill / Russian Society of Political Scientists / Moscow State University **Date:** 2021-09-13 to 2021-09-15 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The official English programme for the First International Scientific and Practical Conference on the role of civil society in elections lists Nathan Lee Gill as a foreign participant for Round Table 5 on digital election technologies, scheduled to speak on 15 Sept 2021 on cryptocurrency technology and voting.

What it establishes. Identifies the exact Moscow conference Gill was travelling to when apprehended and the topic he was scheduled to present.

Caveat. Programme does not itself establish intelligence sponsorship or wrongdoing by other participants.

Source type. Official conference programme

Source. https://ruspolitology.ru/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Conf.-prog.-elect.-eng..pdf

Follow-up / status. Archive programme, organisers, funders, invitation, travel and Gill's prepared presentation.

E080 — Gill Moscow conference organisers

Subject: Russian Civic Chamber / Russian Society of Political Scientists / Moscow State University **Date:** 2021-09-14 to 2021-09-15 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Official organisers state the conference was organised by the Civic Chamber of the Russian Federation and Russian Society of Political Scientists at Lomonosov Moscow State University, with more than 300 Russian and foreign participants; topics included interference in sovereign elections and digital voting.

What it establishes. Provides primary institutional context for Gill's intended Moscow appearance.

Caveat. 'Kremlin-backed' is a characterisation requiring separate evidence; official programme establishes Russian state-linked/public institutions and venue.

Source type. Official organiser page/programme

Source. https://ruspolitics.site/anonsy/11938/

Follow-up / status. Map organising bodies, state ties and financing using official records.

E081 — Moscow network continuity

Subject: Nathan Gill / Nicolas Bay **Date:** 2019-07 and 2021-09 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Nicolas Bay, who contemporaneous reporting identifies alongside Gill as an inviter/supporter of Medvedchuk's July 2019 Strasbourg peace-plan event, appears in the official 2021 Moscow conference programme as a discussion participant in the same digital-election round table where Gill was scheduled to speak.

What it establishes. Shows continuity between the 2019 Medvedchuk parliamentary-access network and Gill's intended 2021 Moscow political-technology forum.

Caveat. Does not establish Bay knew of Gill's bribes or coordinated with Gill in 2021.

Source type. 2019 contemporaneous reporting + 2021 official programme

Source. https://fr.sputniknews.africa/20190717/le-donbass-sera-t-il-autonome-en-ukraine-cest-le-prix-de-la-paix-selon-viktor-medvedchouk-1041702846.html ; https://ruspolitology.ru/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Conf.-prog.-elect.-eng..pdf

Follow-up / status. Build Bay-Gill-Niedźwiecki/Voloshyn chronology.

E082 — 17 July event organiser detail

Subject: Nathan Gill / Nicolas Bay / Viktor Medvedchuk **Date:** 2019-07-17 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Contemporaneous Sputnik reporting says Medvedchuk was in Strasbourg at the invitation of MEPs Nicolas Bay and Nathan Gill; Ukrainian reporting says the event was privately organised rather than an official European Parliament initiative.

What it establishes. Clarifies Gill had a co-organiser/inviter for the Medvedchuk event rather than acting visibly alone.

Caveat. Does not change that Gill had separately agreed with Voloshyn to arrange/host the event for reward.

Source type. Contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://fr.sputniknews.africa/20190717/le-donbass-sera-t-il-autonome-en-ukraine-cest-le-prix-de-la-paix-selon-viktor-medvedchouk-1041702846.html ; https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/rus/news/2019/07/17/7098596/

Follow-up / status. Obtain event invitation/room booking showing sponsoring MEP names.

E083 — 17 July attendee list expanded

Subject: Alexandra Phillips / Nicolas Bay / Javier Nart / Tatjana Zdanoka / Miroslav Radacovsky / Nathan Gill **Date:** 2019-07-17 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Contemporaneous Ukrainian reporting identifies Brexit Party MEP Alexandra Phillips and MEPs Nicolas Bay, Javier Nart, Tatjana Zdanoka and Miroslav Radacovsky as present at Medvedchuk's European Parliament roundtable, with Gill seated beside Medvedchuk.

What it establishes. Substantially improves the attendee reconstruction and confirms at least one additional Brexit Party MEP attended.

Caveat. Attendance does not imply knowledge of Gill's bribery; article may not list every attendee.

Source type. Contemporaneous Ukrainian reporting

Source. https://www.eurointegration.com.ua/rus/news/2019/07/17/7098596/

Follow-up / status. Seek full imagery/video and individual responses.

E084 — December 2018 exact operation

Subject: Gill / Voloshyn / Sass / Coburn / Arnott **Date:** 2018-12-11 **Grade:** B/A mix

Proposition. Luke Harding's 2026 extract reconstructs Gill's speech at 20:21 on 11 Dec 2018, says Voloshyn sent updated scripted wording that lunchtime, Sass interviewed Gill at the Parliament media wall, and Coburn/Arnott delivered related interventions; Gill then sent recordings to Voloshyn.

What it establishes. Provides a minute-level reconstruction of the first intervention and the husband-wife media validation loop.

Caveat. Judgment labels Count 2 as 12 Dec; final report must reconcile court count-date vs plenary date rather than claim judicial error.

Source type. Investigative book extract based on court messages + EP record

Source. https://www.thenerve.news/p/luke-harding-betrayal-book-extract-nathan-gill-ukip-reform-voloshyn-bribes-russia

Follow-up / status. Cross-check EP CRE transcript, video timestamp and court schedule.

E085 — Moscow conference prepared talk

Subject: Nathan Gill **Date:** 2021-09-15 scheduled **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. The official programme records Gill's proposed paper title: 'The Same Technology That Gives Us Crypto Currencies Also Will Change the Way That We Vote'. Byline Times reports it located a prepared presentation for the talk.

What it establishes. Shows Gill was not merely an observer: he was scheduled as a speaker on election technology.

Caveat. Need original slide deck to assess substance and authorship.

Source type. Official programme + investigative reporting

Source. https://ruspolitology.ru/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Conf.-prog.-elect.-eng..pdf ; https://bylinetimes.com/2025/10/17/what-nathan-did-next-a-kremlin-backed-forum-on-how-to-subvert-western-democracy/

Follow-up / status. Archive the presentation and compare wording/style to Gill's known work.

E086 — Rupert Lowe testimony on Gill role

Subject: Rupert Lowe / Nathan Gill / Brexit Party MEP delegation **Date:** 2019; statement 2025 **Grade:** B/C

Proposition. Rupert Lowe said Gill was head of the Brexit Party MEP delegation's day-to-day operation alongside the whip, and recalled Gill asking him and other MEPs to attend an early-term event with a strongly pro-Russian slant where people claimed closeness to Putin.

What it establishes. If accurate, supports Gill having organisational authority to summon colleagues and contemporaneous concern among MEPs about his Russia/Ukraine focus.

Caveat. Lowe is now a political adversary of Farage; original statement and event identity should be independently verified.

Source type. Quoted statement reproduced by multiple outlets

Source. https://www.thenewworld.co.uk/rats-in-a-sack-whats-the-real-story-behind-reform-and-russia/

Follow-up / status. Archive Lowe's original post and establish whether the event was the 17 July Medvedchuk roundtable.

E087 — Banks-Russia court findings

Subject: Arron Banks / Andy Wigmore / Russian officials **Date:** 2015-2016 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The 2022 High Court judgment in Banks v Cadwalladr independently reviewed the underlying email cache and found reasonable grounds for believing Banks had at least four meetings with Russian officials: 6 Nov 2015, 16/17 Nov 2015, 19 Aug 2016 and 18 Nov 2016, with evidence suggesting this was probably not the full extent of contacts.

What it establishes. Provides judicially tested chronology of Russian diplomatic/business contacts rather than relying solely on journalism.

Caveat. Civil libel judgment assessed reasonableness of journalistic belief; it is not a criminal finding of Russian influence.

Source type. High Court judgment

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Build exact meeting-by-meeting table from judgment and exhibits.

E088 — First Yakovenko briefing

Subject: Arron Banks / Andy Wigmore / Alexander Yakovenko **Date:** 2015-11-06 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The judgment records Banks accepting a Russian Embassy invitation to lunch specifically 'to brief the Ambassador' about the referendum campaign and US interest in it.

What it establishes. Primary-document evidence that the first lunch was explicitly framed by Banks as a referendum briefing.

Caveat. Does not prove sensitive campaign data was supplied or that Russia offered campaign assistance.

Source type. High Court judgment quoting email

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Archive quoted email and any meeting note.

E089 — Povarenkin gold introduction

Subject: Banks / Yakovenko / Siman Povarenkin / Oakwell / Jim Mellon **Date:** 2015-11-16/17 to 2016 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The High Court judgment records Yakovenko introducing Banks to Povarenkin, after which Banks emailed that he was 'very bullish on gold' and passed a Russian gold consolidation presentation to Andrew Umbers and Jim Mellon; subsequent correspondence contemplated Sberbank involvement.

What it establishes. Establishes a concrete Russian business opportunity generated through diplomatic access and seriously explored for months.

Caveat. Banks did not ultimately invest; no evidence this financed Brexit.

Source type. High Court judgment quoting emails

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Map all corporate entities, advisers, dates and termination point.

E090 — Cottrell Eyes Only transfer

Subject: Andy Wigmore / Sergey Fedichkin / George Cottrell **Date:** 2016-08-19 14:26 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The High Court judgment records that on the day Banks and Wigmore lunched with Ambassador Yakovenko, Wigmore forwarded to Russian Embassy official Sergey Fedichkin an email with the subject 'Fwd: Cottrell Docs - Eyes only' and the words 'Eyes Only'.

What it establishes. Moves the Cottrell-document route to primary/judicially examined evidence and identifies the recipient as Fedichkin for this forwarding event.

Caveat. The judgment excerpt does not prove Farage authorised, requested or knew about the transfer; exact attachments should still be archived.

Source type. High Court judgment based on disclosed emails

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Obtain complete email and attachment list; reconcile with Udod references in other reporting.

E091 — 19 August embassy lunch

Subject: Banks / Wigmore / Yakovenko / Fedichkin **Date:** 2016-08-19 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The judgment records the Russian Embassy's formal lunch invitation and a disclosed menu headed 'Luncheon in honour of Mr Arron Banks and Mr Andy Wigmore, 19 August 2016' at the ambassador's residence.

What it establishes. Firmly establishes the meeting days before Farage's Mississippi appearance with Trump.

Caveat. Does not establish Farage attended the lunch.

Source type. High Court judgment / disclosed invitation and menu

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Overlay with Trump/Bannon travel and Cottrell email timing.

E092 — Trump transition handover

Subject: Banks / Wigmore / Yakovenko / Trump transition team **Date:** 2016-11 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The judgment records Banks acknowledging that at a post-election meeting with Yakovenko, he and Wigmore supplied the Russians with a telephone contact for Trump's transition team after being asked for it.

What it establishes. Establishes a direct information handover from Farage's close Brexit associates to the Russian ambassador after their Trump Tower visit.

Caveat. No evidence Farage personally supplied or authorised the number.

Source type. High Court judgment quoting testimony/reporting record

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Pin exact meeting date (17/18 Nov discrepancy across sources) and source of contact number.

E093 — Banks public-account discrepancies

Subject: Arron Banks **Date:** 2016-2018 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The High Court judgment found Banks's earlier public characterisation of his Russian involvement as essentially one 'boozy lunch' was materially incomplete, noting at least four meetings and several business opportunities/contacts.

What it establishes. Supports a credibility/chronology section comparing public accounts with documentary record.

Caveat. This is not proof that undisclosed meetings were improper in themselves.

Source type. High Court judgment

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Build statement-versus-document timeline.

E094 — NCA exculpatory finding

Subject: Arron Banks / Better for the Country / Leave.EU **Date:** 2019-09-24 **Grade:** A

Proposition. After examining banking information and taking legal advice, the NCA found no evidence that the referendum loans were funded by a third party or that Banks acted as an agent for one; it found no PPERA or company-law criminal offence in the referred matter.

What it establishes. Strong exculpatory evidence on the specific question of source of the £8m referendum loans.

Caveat. The NCA statement does not purport to determine the meaning or propriety of every Russian diplomatic/business contact.

Source type. National Crime Agency

Source. https://www.nationalcrimeagency.gov.uk/news/public-statement-on-nca-investigation-into-suspected-eu-referendum-offences

Follow-up / status. Keep adjacent to all Russian-funding discussion.

E095 — Bannon-Leave.EU fundraising strategy

Subject: Steve Bannon / Arron Banks / Leave.EU / Cambridge Analytica **Date:** 2015-10 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The DCMS final report cites an email from Banks to Wigmore, copying Bannon and Elizabeth Bilney, asking Cambridge Analytica for a US fundraising strategy and social-media activity targeted at people with UK family ties.

What it establishes. Primary parliamentary evidence that Bannon was copied into early Leave.EU fundraising/strategy discussions.

Caveat. The Electoral Commission later found no reportable CA services were supplied; this is evidence of planning/scoping, not executed CA campaign work.

Source type. House of Commons DCMS final report

Source. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm201719/cmselect/cmcumeds/1791/179109.htm

Follow-up / status. Archive full email chain and map Bannon involvement.

E096 — Cambridge Analytica limitation

Subject: Leave.EU / Cambridge Analytica **Date:** 2015-2016 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The Electoral Commission found the Leave.EU-Cambridge Analytica relationship did not progress beyond initial scoping/pitching, no contract was agreed, and it saw no evidence CA had input into Leave.EU's referendum campaign.

What it establishes. Sets a hard evidential boundary against overstating Bannon/CA operational involvement in Leave.EU's referendum campaigning.

Caveat. Does not negate the existence of meetings, proposals or Bannon's role in introductions/early strategy discussions.

Source type. Electoral Commission

Source. https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/political-registration-and-regulation/our-enforcement-work/investigations/investigation-leaveeu-group-limited

Follow-up / status. Use as explicit caveat in Bannon chapter.

E097 — Wigmore contradiction on Cottrell

Subject: Andy Wigmore / Sergey Fedichkin / George Cottrell **Date:** 2016 transfer; testimony 2018 **Grade:** A

Proposition. At the 12 June 2018 DCMS hearing, Wigmore said Cottrell's arrest 'never came up' with the Russian Embassy and denied sharing information. The 2022 High Court judgment records his 19 Aug 2016 email to Fedichkin attaching the Cottrell indictment and five other Cottrell documents.

What it establishes. Establishes a direct contradiction between Wigmore's parliamentary account and documentary evidence.

Caveat. Does not show Farage knew of either the transfer or Wigmore's inaccurate testimony.

Source type. Commons oral evidence + High Court judgment

Source. https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/8090/html/ ; https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Use as a boxed contradiction with exact transcript/judgment citations.

E098 — Farage 2018 awareness

Subject: Nigel Farage / Arron Banks / Andy Wigmore **Date:** 2018-06-11 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. On his LBC programme, Farage questioned Banks and Wigmore about the Russian ambassador meetings, why only one lunch had previously been disclosed, whether they were reporting back after meeting Trump, and whether Russian money funded Leave.EU.

What it establishes. Establishes that by June 2018 Farage knew the core allegations and directly elicited admissions about multiple meetings and transition-team contact sharing.

Caveat. Does not establish he knew contemporaneously in 2015-16.

Source type. LBC interview preserved in High Court judgment / contemporaneous live coverage

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Separate 'knowledge by 2018' from 'knowledge at the time' throughout report.

E099 — Transition-number explanation

Subject: Andy Wigmore / Trump transition team / Russian Embassy **Date:** 2016; explanation 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. During the June 2018 LBC interview, Wigmore said the Trump transition team needed contact points for foreign governments and that he had been given a number he could hand out; Banks acknowledged the Russians received the transition-team number.

What it establishes. Provides the participants' benign explanation for the transition-number handover.

Caveat. No independent evidence yet verifies that the transition team expressly authorised Wigmore to distribute that number, or identifies who gave it to him.

Source type. Contemporaneous LBC live coverage + High Court record

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/blog/live/2018/jun/11/brexit-jacob-rees-mogg-hosts-lbc-phone-in-politics-live

Follow-up / status. Seek Trump transition records/Bannon testimony to corroborate or refute.

E100 — Additional Russian business offers

Subject: Arron Banks / Alrosa / Russian-linked financiers **Date:** 2016 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. The High Court judgment records evidence of additional Russian opportunities beyond the six-mine gold consolidation: possible participation in Alrosa privatisation and a Russian-owned gold mine in Guinea.

What it establishes. Shows the business-opportunity trail was broader than one gold proposal.

Caveat. Banks said he did not pursue or benefit from them; no evidence they funded Brexit.

Source type. High Court judgment summarising underlying email record / NYT reporting

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Create separate deal matrix with offer, intermediary, action, outcome.

E101 — Alrosa follow-through

Subject: Banks advisers / Siman Povarenkin / Alrosa **Date:** 2016-01 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. The High Court judgment records an adviser to Banks telling Povarenkin that Banks's team had 'not forgotten about your Alrosa project'; another adviser separately discussed possible opportunities from partial privatisation.

What it establishes. Shows the Alrosa opportunity received active follow-up rather than being a passing mention.

Caveat. Banks denied benefiting and later said he did not pursue it.

Source type. High Court judgment quoting/recounting email evidence

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Trace adviser identities, valuation, and closure.

E102 — February 2016 Moscow ambiguity

Subject: Arron Banks **Date:** 2016-02 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Contemporaneous email material created uncertainty over whether Banks travelled to Moscow in Feb 2016. Banks later produced passport/visa evidence to the DCMS Committee and denied making that trip, while acknowledging a separate family trip to Russia at another time.

What it establishes. Provides a useful example where a suspicious-looking lead has significant contrary evidence and should not be stated as fact.

Caveat. Exact dates of the acknowledged family trip remain relevant but the alleged Feb business trip is not established.

Source type. High Court judgment reproducing DCMS evidence and reporting

Source. https://www.judiciary.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/06/Banks-v-Cadwalladr-130622-Judgment.pdf

Follow-up / status. Mark February Moscow trip as unresolved/likely not proved, not as finding.

E103 — Transition-number origin testimony

Subject: Andy Wigmore / Trump transition desk **Date:** 2016-11; testimony 2018 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Wigmore told the DCMS Committee that a young woman on the Trump transition desk asked him for UK/government contact numbers; when he asked how others should contact the transition team, she gave him a number and said 'you can give them that'.

What it establishes. Provides a detailed, on-record origin story for the transition contact number later passed to Yakovenko.

Caveat. It is Wigmore's testimony; the transition staffer's identity and authority have not been independently verified.

Source type. Commons oral evidence

Source. https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/8090/html/

Follow-up / status. Identify transition-desk staffer and seek corroborating Trump transition records.

E104 — Transition-number dissemination context

Subject: Andy Wigmore / diplomatic community **Date:** 2016-11; testimony 2018 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Wigmore told MPs that after returning to London he met several diplomats who asked how to contact the incoming Trump team and said he used the transition number as a general contact route.

What it establishes. Provides the benign context Wigmore says applied to the Russian handover: he says the number was not uniquely supplied to Russia.

Caveat. No independent evidence yet establishes how many diplomats received it or whether the transition team authorised broad diplomatic dissemination.

Source type. Commons oral evidence

Source. https://committees.parliament.uk/oralevidence/8090/html/

Follow-up / status. Seek diplomatic/transition corroboration; phrase as Wigmore's explanation.

E105 — Cottrell attachments scope

Subject: Andy Wigmore / Sergey Fedichkin / George Cottrell **Date:** 2016-08-19 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. The High Court judgment states the Fedichkin email attached the 'Cottrell indictment' and five other 'Cottrell' documents; Guardian reporting said the indictment included allegations involving the dark web and cryptocurrencies and that six legal documents concerning the US case were attached.

What it establishes. Establishes number and broad legal-case nature of the transmitted documents.

Caveat. The five non-indictment attachment titles/content remain unavailable in public sources located so far; some underlying material may already have been public.

Source type. High Court judgment + Guardian

Source. https://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/QB/2022/1417.html ; https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/16/leave-eu-russia-arron-banks-andy-wigmore

Follow-up / status. Do not characterise all six as confidential until each document's public status is known.

E106 — Cottrell public-status caveat

Subject: George Cottrell case documents **Date:** 2016 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian noted the federal indictment was already public by the time Wigmore sent it to the embassy; the status of the other five attachments is not established in the public record located so far.

What it establishes. Prevents overstating the transfer as necessarily disclosure of secret FBI material.

Caveat. The purpose of forwarding the package to a Russian Embassy official remains unexplained and Wigmore later denied sharing such information.

Source type. Guardian contemporaneous investigation

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2018/jun/16/leave-eu-russia-arron-banks-andy-wigmore

Follow-up / status. Classify each attachment before using words such as confidential, secret or sensitive.

E107 — Bannon testimony baseline on Farage

Subject: Steve Bannon / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2016 period; testimony 2018 **Grade:** A

Proposition. In House Intelligence Committee testimony, Bannon acknowledged meeting Farage around the Brexit period but denied providing political consultation or support at that time, describing contacts in media/radio terms.

What it establishes. Creates a primary US baseline against later 2017-18 evidence of political-strategy discussions and Bannon's private 'advisor' claim.

Caveat. The testimony does not address every later Bannon-Farage interaction and may define 'political consultation' narrowly.

Source type. US House Intelligence Committee transcript

Source. https://intelligence.house.gov/uploadedfiles/steve_bannon_testimony_jan_16_2018.pdf

Follow-up / status. Use as chronology anchor, not a blanket denial of later advisory activity.

E108 — Bannon-LeaveEU planning witness evidence

Subject: Steve Bannon / Leave.EU / Cambridge Analytica **Date:** 2015 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Written evidence to Parliament from Emma Briant said emails showed Bannon looped into early Leave.EU strategic/planning discussions, including proposed US fundraising and social-media strategy; she said former CA staffer Brittany Kaiser regarded his inclusion as unusual.

What it establishes. Corroborates that Bannon was not merely a distant acquaintance during early planning.

Caveat. Witness interpretation about Bannon's significance is not the same as proof of executed campaign work; EC later found CA did not provide campaign input.

Source type. Written parliamentary evidence reproducing/analysing emails

Source. https://committees.parliament.uk/writtenevidence/96662/pdf/

Follow-up / status. Archive underlying emails; separate Bannon role from CA non-execution finding.

E109 — Harborne donation concentration

Subject: Christopher Harborne / Reform UK **Date:** 2025-2026 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Electoral Commission records show Harborne gave Reform £9m in July 2025, £3m in November 2025 and £3m in January 2026; Q1 2026 Reform accepted £9.262m in non-public donations overall.

What it establishes. Establishes extraordinary funding concentration around Harborne from official records.

Caveat. Donation size does not establish foreign influence or Russian origin.

Source type. Electoral Commission

Source. https://search.electoralcommission.org.uk/Search?currentPage=1&date=Accepted&et=pp&from=2025-01-01&isIrishSourceNo=true&isIrishSourceYes=true&open=filter&optCols=IsIrishSource&optCols=ReportingPeriodName&order=desc&postPoll=true&prePoll=false&quarters=2025q1234&register=gb&register=ni&rows=10&sort=Value&tab=1&to=2025-12-31 ; https://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/media-centre/political-parties-accept-ps247m-donations-q1-2026

Follow-up / status. Build donor concentration table using complete EC export.

E110 — Harborne control of AML Global Payments

Subject: Christopher Harborne / AML Global Payments LLP **Date:** 2016-present **Grade:** A

Proposition. Companies House lists Harborne as an active designated member and sole active person with significant control of AML Global Payments LLP, resident in Thailand.

What it establishes. Establishes formal control of a UK AML Global entity.

Caveat. Does not by itself establish control of every similarly named overseas AML entity or source of political donations.

Source type. Companies House

Source. https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/OC305889/persons-with-significant-control

Follow-up / status. Map group structure and intercompany flows from audited accounts.

E111 — Harborne Russian-crude supply-chain exposure

Subject: Christopher Harborne / AML Global / Reliance Jamnagar **Date:** 2024-2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. 2026 investigations traced fuel sources named in AML Global refuelling contracts to refineries that imported Russian crude; the largest reported route involved Reliance's Jamnagar refinery, which supplies fuel relevant to an AML contract. Reporting expressly states there is no suggestion AML Global breached sanctions.

What it establishes. Establishes indirect commercial supply-chain exposure to refined products from refineries processing Russian crude.

Caveat. Does not establish AML bought Russian crude directly, breached sanctions, or that Reform donations derived from Russian-origin profits.

Source type. Times / Unearthed investigation

Source. https://www.thetimes.com/uk/politics/article/reform-uk-donor-christopher-harborne-8t2z8ptbr

Follow-up / status. Seek AML supplier invoices, contract fuel-source records and audited profit tracing.

E112 — Harborne sanctions caveat

Subject: Christopher Harborne / AML Global **Date:** post-2022 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. AML Global has stated that it complies fully with UK and international sanctions and screens business partners; current reporting describes third-country refined fuel as legally tradable under the relevant regime at the time.

What it establishes. Mandatory counter-evidence for any Russia-energy discussion.

Caveat. Compliance statement is company-provided; it does not trace the provenance of the £5m Farage gift or each Reform donation.

Source type. Company response reported by Guardian/Times

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/may/22/john-healey-asks-nigel-farage-if-any-of-gift-may-have-come-from-russia-linked-profits

Follow-up / status. Request independent audit/provenance evidence before making funding-origin claims.

E113 — Harborne defence-sector holding

Subject: Christopher Harborne / AML Global Ltd / QinetiQ **Date:** 2022 **Grade:** A

Proposition. QinetiQ announced that AML Global Ltd, solely ultimately owned and controlled by Harborne, acquired 41,001,328 shares representing about 7.08% of voting rights in May 2022.

What it establishes. Establishes substantial investment in a UK defence contractor during the post-invasion period.

Caveat. Not a Russia link; potentially cuts against simplistic characterisation of Harborne as economically aligned with Russia.

Source type. QinetiQ RNS

Source. https://www.investegate.co.uk/announcement/rns/qinetiq-group--qq./notification-of-major-shareholding/7073834

Follow-up / status. Retain as balancing/context evidence in Harborne profile.

E114 — Tice-Chernukhin hospitality

Subject: Richard Tice / Lubov Chernukhin **Date:** 2025-08-04 to 2025-08-06 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Tice's official Register of Members' Financial Interests records £1,400 of accommodation/meals from Lubov Chernukhin in France, purpose: 'Discuss Gas Power in UK'.

What it establishes. Creates a direct, declared Russia-background-adjacent hospitality link involving Reform's deputy leader and UK energy policy.

Caveat. Hospitality was declared; Lubov Chernukhin is a British political donor who has publicly condemned Putin's invasion, and this is not evidence of Kremlin influence.

Source type. UK Parliament register

Source. https://members.parliament.uk/member/5161/registeredinterests?categoryId=5

Follow-up / status. Establish attendees, business topic and whether Satellite Energy Systems or other energy ventures were discussed.

E115 — Chernukhin Russian-state background and anti-Putin caveat

Subject: Lubov Chernukhin / Vladimir Chernukhin **Date:** 2000s-present **Grade:** B/A mix

Proposition. Lubov Chernukhin is married to Vladimir Chernukhin, who served as Russian deputy finance minister and later chaired Vnesheconombank; reporting and court material say he later fell out with Putin and left Russia. Lubov publicly condemned Russia's invasion and called for strong sanctions.

What it establishes. Provides necessary historical context for Tice hospitality while preventing misleading 'Putin donor' shorthand.

Caveat. Past Russian state service and oligarch dealings do not establish current Kremlin alignment; available evidence includes explicit anti-Putin positioning.

Source type. Parliament/Guardian background

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/oct/10/richard-tice-tory-donor-lubov-chernukhin ; https://www.theguardian.com/world/2022/mar/26/russian-born-husband-of-tory-donor-earned-millions-via-oligarch-connections

Follow-up / status. Treat as adjacency/transparency lead, not hostile-influence finding.

E116 — Ben Delo donor concentration

Subject: Ben Delo / Reform UK **Date:** 2026 Q1 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Electoral Commission records show Delo gave Reform £2m in January and £2m in March 2026; Reuters reported Harborne and Delo supplied the majority of Reform's Q1 fundraising.

What it establishes. Establishes Delo as a current mega-donor requiring network screening.

Caveat. No Russia-specific link identified in this research pass.

Source type. Electoral Commission / Reuters

Source. https://search.electoralcommission.org.uk/Search?currentPage=3&date=Accepted&et=pp&from=2026-01-01&isIrishSourceNo=true&isIrishSourceYes=true&open=filter&optCols=IsIrishSource&optCols=ReportingPeriodName&order=desc&postPoll=true&prePoll=false&query=reform&register=gb&register=ni&rows=10&sort=AcceptedDate&tab=1&to=2026-03-31

Follow-up / status. Keep in screened/no-Russia-link register unless new evidence emerges.

E117 — One Hyde Park Russia adjacency

Subject: Nick Candy / Reform donors / One Hyde Park **Date:** pre-2026 **Grade:** C/B

Proposition. Reporting identifies Reform treasurer Nick Candy and several Reform donors with ties to One Hyde Park, a development whose owners/residents have included Russian and post-Soviet billionaires, including sanctioned or Russia-connected figures.

What it establishes. Useful as a network-screening lead for property/business relationships.

Caveat. Sharing a luxury development/address is not evidence of a political, financial or personal relationship with Russian residents and should not be presented as one.

Source type. Byline Times + property reporting

Source. https://bylinetimes.com/2026/05/07/reform-uk-treasurer-and-donors-share-london-address-with-sanctioned-russian-oligarchs/

Follow-up / status. Only promote specific links where transactions, meetings, partnerships or communications can be demonstrated.

E118 — Reform energy policy predates Chernukhin meeting

Subject: Reform UK / Richard Tice **Date:** 2024-06-17 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Reform's 2024 election contract already pledged to scrap Net Zero/subsidies, fast-track North Sea oil and gas, license shale gas test sites, and promote combined-cycle gas turbines.

What it establishes. Rules out the August 2025 Chernukhin hospitality as the origin of Reform's anti-Net-Zero or pro-gas stance.

Caveat. Later meetings could still influence policy detail, implementation, technology choices or commercial access.

Source type. Reform UK 2024 manifesto

Source. https://reformuk.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2025/10/Reform_UK_Our_Contract_with_You.pdf

Follow-up / status. Use as the chronology baseline for the Tice policy-influence workstream.

E119 — Tice pre-meeting anti-renewable action

Subject: Richard Tice / Reform UK **Date:** 2025-07-16 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Before the Chernukhin hospitality, Tice wrote to major renewable developers warning that a Reform government would seek to terminate clean-energy subsidy arrangements/Contracts for Difference.

What it establishes. Shows Reform's hard anti-subsidy energy position was already operational immediately before the August meeting.

Caveat. Does not address gas-plant investment or carbon-capture detail.

Source type. PA reporting / contemporary press

Source. https://www.irishnews.com/news/uk/reform-tells-energy-firms-it-would-scrap-their-clean-power-subsidies-O3CERASNHNMOTKLONKKVV2DS6Q/

Follow-up / status. Compare with policy statements after 6 Aug 2025.

E120 — Satellite Energy Systems incorporation

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK Ltd / Lubov Chernukhin **Date:** 2025-01-24 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Satellite Energy Systems UK Limited was incorporated on 24 January 2025; Lubov Chernukhin and Gregor MacRae were appointed directors from incorporation.

What it establishes. Establishes the company existed only months before the Tice hospitality and was an active UK commercial venture.

Caveat. Company incorporation alone says nothing about policy influence.

Source type. Companies House

Source. https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/16206830 ; https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/16206830/officers

Follow-up / status. Map ownership/control changes and business development activity.

E121 — Satellite public-affairs engagement

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK / Headland **Date:** 2025 Q1-Q2 **Grade:** A

Proposition. PRCA Public Affairs Board registers list Satellite Energy Systems UK as a fee-paying client of Headland in Q1 and Q2 2025.

What it establishes. Shows Satellite was using professional public-affairs services before the August 2025 Tice meeting.

Caveat. The registers do not identify which politicians, departments or policies Headland approached on Satellite's behalf.

Source type. PRCA Public Affairs Register

Source. https://register.prca.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/register-26.pdf ; https://www.prca.global/system/files/paragraphs/cw_file/2025-10/prca-public-affairs-register-q2-2025.pdf

Follow-up / status. Seek Headland/Satellite engagement records, ministerial meetings and consultation submissions.

E122 — Satellite commercial model

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK **Date:** 2025-2026 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Satellite describes its model as high-efficiency gas-powered 'eco power plants' balancing intermittent renewables, with advanced carbon capture, claimed >95% CO2 capture, liquid CO2 sales and carbon-credit revenue.

What it establishes. Defines the company's concrete commercial interests against which Reform/Tice policy can be compared.

Caveat. Company claims about capture performance and green classification require independent technical/regulatory verification.

Source type. Satellite Energy Systems website / Lubov Chernukhin business page

Source. https://www.satelliteenergysystems.com/ ; https://lubovchernukhin.co.uk/businesses/

Follow-up / status. Identify project pipeline, planning applications, capacity-market/CCUS assumptions and revenue model.

E123 — Satellite ownership/control timing

Subject: Vladimir Chernukhin / Lubov Chernukhin / Satellite Energy Systems UK **Date:** 2025-06 onward **Grade:** A

Proposition. Companies House records Vladimir Chernukhin as a person with significant control from 11 June 2025; Lubov was later notified as a PSC from 30 April 2026. Filing history also records earlier BVI/corporate control entries.

What it establishes. Shows Vladimir Chernukhin had formal significant influence/control before the August 2025 Tice hospitality.

Caveat. Does not establish Russian state involvement; Chernukhin left Russian official life years earlier and later opposed Putin.

Source type. Companies House PSC / filing history

Source. https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/16206830/persons-with-significant-control ; https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/16206830/filing-history

Follow-up / status. Map BVI/Kersill ownership and capital sources.

E124 — Tice hospitality commercial context

Subject: Richard Tice / Lubov Chernukhin / Satellite Energy Systems **Date:** 2025-08-04 to 2025-08-06 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Tice's register states Chernukhin provided £1,400 accommodation/meals in France for the purpose 'Discuss Gas Power in UK'; contemporaneous reporting identifies her as co-founder/chair of Satellite Energy Systems.

What it establishes. Creates a direct access event between Reform's energy spokesman/deputy leader and a gas-power entrepreneur while her company was using public-affairs support.

Caveat. No evidence found that a donation was sought, that a policy promise was made, or that Headland arranged the visit.

Source type. Parliament register + Guardian

Source. https://members.parliament.uk/member/5161/registeredinterests?categoryId=5 ; https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/oct/10/richard-tice-tory-donor-lubov-chernukhin

Follow-up / status. Seek attendees, documents/presentation and follow-up communications.

E125 — Tice pre-existing CCUS scepticism

Subject: Richard Tice **Date:** 2024-10-07 **Grade:** A

Proposition. In the Commons, Tice criticised the government's proposed £20bn carbon-capture investment, highlighting that the Secretary of State had described the technology as risky.

What it establishes. Shows Tice's pre-meeting position was sceptical of large public CCUS spending, which is not an obvious match to Satellite's carbon-capture-centred commercial model.

Caveat. Opposition to government subsidy does not necessarily mean opposition to privately financed carbon capture.

Source type. Hansard

Source. https://www.ukpol.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2024/12/Commons-2024-10-07.p.pdf

Follow-up / status. Compare post-August statements for any shift on CCUS, carbon credits or decarbonised gas.

E126 — No clear post-meeting SES policy adoption

Subject: Richard Tice / Reform UK / Satellite Energy Systems **Date:** 2025-08 to 2026-08 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Post-meeting Reform/Tice statements located in this pass continue to emphasise domestic gas, drilling/fracking and opposition to renewable/net-zero subsidies. No identified Reform policy specifically adopts Satellite's >95% capture/liquid-CO2/carbon-credit model.

What it establishes. Current evidence does not demonstrate policy capture or a distinctive Satellite-to-Reform policy transfer.

Caveat. Absence of public language does not rule out private influence on implementation, planning, market design or future policy.

Source type. Reform/press/Hansard chronology

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2025/sep/06/drill-baby-drill-reform-uk-zero-in-on-ed-milibands-climate-policies ; https://www.reformparty.uk/news/richard-tice-labour-has-lost-the-plot-over-net-zero-targets

Follow-up / status. Continue document/meeting search rather than infer causation.

E127 — Potential policy divergence

Subject: Richard Tice / Satellite Energy Systems **Date:** 2026-08 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Tice criticised government plans to subsidise gas capacity used as backup for renewables, while Satellite markets gas plants specifically as flexible backup for renewable intermittency and derives value from low-carbon/carbon-related revenue streams.

What it establishes. Suggests Tice/Reform policy is not simply tailored to Satellite's stated business model and may conflict with some of its likely market-support mechanisms.

Caveat. Exact Satellite financing model and subsidy dependence are not public yet.

Source type. Reform statement + Satellite website

Source. https://www.reformparty.uk/news/richard-tice-labour-has-lost-the-plot-over-net-zero-targets ; https://www.satelliteenergysystems.com/

Follow-up / status. Obtain project financial model/capacity-market strategy before drawing stronger conclusion.

E128 — No public Satellite project pipeline identified

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK **Date:** 2025-2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Satellite's public website describes UK eco power plants and strategic grid integration but names no UK project sites, MW capacities, planning applications, grid-connection references, Capacity Market awards or CCUS projects. Targeted web searches in this pass found none under the company name.

What it establishes. Suggests the UK venture remains early-stage or operates through as-yet-unidentified project vehicles rather than a publicly visible project pipeline.

Caveat. Absence from web search is not proof no applications/connection agreements exist; projects could sit in SPVs or pre-application processes.

Source type. Company website + negative public-record search

Source. https://www.satelliteenergysystems.com/

Follow-up / status. Search director/PSC-linked SPVs and local planning databases once project geography emerges.

E129 — Satellite remains pre-accounts / early-stage

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK **Date:** 2025-2026 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Companies House shows Satellite incorporated Jan 2025 and had not yet filed first accounts in the public record searched; public company data show no charges or published operating financials at this stage.

What it establishes. Limits the ability to test project economics or financing from public accounts and supports treating the venture as early-stage pending first accounts.

Caveat. Early-stage companies can still have substantial private development agreements and capital commitments.

Source type. Companies House

Source. https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/16206830/filing-history

Follow-up / status. Revisit after first accounts and search SPV/charge filings.

E130 — Public-affairs representation persisted

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK / Headland **Date:** 2025 Q1-Q3 **Grade:** A

Proposition. PRCA registers list Satellite Energy Systems UK among Headland's fee-paying public-affairs clients in Q1 and Q2 2025 and in a Q3 2025 register located in this pass.

What it establishes. Shows professional public-affairs engagement persisted across the period containing Tice's August hospitality.

Caveat. Registers list client relationship but not lobbying targets, policy asks or contacts.

Source type. PRCA Public Affairs Board registers

Source. https://register.prca.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/register-26.pdf ; https://www.prca.global/system/files/paragraphs/cw_file/2025-10/prca-public-affairs-register-q2-2025.pdf ; https://www.prca.global/system/files/paragraphs/cw_file/2026-01/Public_Affairs_Register___Q3_2025%20%282%29_0%20%281%29%20%281%29.pdf

Follow-up / status. Seek Headland client brief/engagement records; monitor transparency releases.

E131 — Satellite stated revenue model

Subject: Satellite Energy Systems UK **Date:** 2025-2026 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Satellite says its plants would generate multiple revenue streams including electricity, liquid CO2 and carbon credits, while providing flexible grid support during renewable intermittency.

What it establishes. Identifies likely policy-sensitive commercial levers: grid access, gas-generation market revenues, treatment of captured CO2, and carbon-credit eligibility.

Caveat. Company marketing does not disclose capex, subsidies, Capacity Market assumptions or project returns.

Source type. Company website

Source. https://www.satelliteenergysystems.com/

Follow-up / status. Use as checklist against Reform policy and future project filings.

E132 — No Satellite-specific Reform policy delta found

Subject: Richard Tice / Reform UK / Satellite Energy Systems **Date:** 2025-08 to 2026-08 **Grade:** B

Proposition. A targeted comparison found no public Reform/Tice proposal explicitly matching Satellite-specific features such as >95% carbon capture, liquid-CO2 monetisation or carbon-credit revenue. Reform's public stance remained focused on more domestic gas production and dismantling subsidy/net-zero structures.

What it establishes. Weakens a claim that the August 2025 meeting visibly transferred Satellite's commercial model into Reform policy.

Caveat. Private policy influence or future implementation detail could exist without public language.

Source type. Reform statements + Satellite website

Source. https://www.reformparty.uk/news/richard-tice-labour-has-lost-the-plot-over-net-zero-targets ; https://www.satelliteenergysystems.com/

Follow-up / status. Keep monitoring policy documents; seek private meeting material.

E133 — Cottrell current Reform finance

Subject: George Cottrell / Richard Tice / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2024-2026 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Recent reporting says Cottrell's financial support within the Reform/Farage ecosystem includes an approximately £78,100 corporate loan connected to Tice and other funding/support around Farage's operation; the Parliamentary Commissioner declined to investigate the Tice loan complaint for lack of sufficient evidence.

What it establishes. Shows Cottrell remains financially embedded in the modern Reform network years after the 2016 Russian-Embassy document episode.

Caveat. Commissioner decision is not a finding that every underlying financial question is resolved; the loan was treated as a corporate/business matter by Tice.

Source type. Guardian / standards outcome

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2026/jul/29/richard-tice-reform-loan-george-cottrell-investigation-standards-watchdog

Follow-up / status. Map all Cottrell-to-Reform/Farage/Tice financial flows and legal entities.

E134 — Cottrell family donation-origin scrutiny

Subject: George Cottrell / Fiona Cottrell / Reform UK **Date:** 2024-2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian reporting says George Cottrell transferred more than $2m to his mother Fiona before she made substantial political donations, prompting police scrutiny and questions about true donor/source; both have denied wrongdoing.

What it establishes. Raises a donor-source/provenance question around a family already linked to Farage's inner circle.

Caveat. Current reporting of police scrutiny is not proof of an offence or of Russian origin of funds.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/aug/01/tangled-financial-web-reform-uk-nigel-farage

Follow-up / status. Obtain Electoral Commission records, police outcome, transfer dates and recipient donations.

E135 — Cottrell bridge significance

Subject: George Cottrell **Date:** 2016-2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Cottrell now links two eras of the investigation: 2016 material about his US case was sent by Wigmore to a Russian Embassy official; by 2024-26 he again appears as a significant financial supporter/associate in Reform/Farage's ecosystem.

What it establishes. Makes Cottrell a high-priority bridge subject whose businesses, associates and money flows require a standalone profile.

Caveat. The two eras are connected through Cottrell personally, not by evidence that Russia funded his later Reform-related activity.

Source type. Synthesis from judicial record + 2026 reporting

Source. Multiple sources

Follow-up / status. Build full Cottrell chronology/business map from 2015-2026.

E136 — Cottrell current corporate vehicle

Subject: George Cottrell / Geostrategy International Unlimited **Date:** 2025-02-06 onward **Grade:** A

Proposition. Companies House records Cottrell as sole director and person with significant control (75%+ shares/votes) of Geostrategy International Unlimited, a UK private unlimited company for market research/public opinion polling; he is recorded as resident in Montenegro.

What it establishes. Establishes Cottrell's current formal corporate vehicle and Montenegro residence.

Caveat. Does not establish Geostrategy's clients, funding or Russia exposure.

Source type. Companies House

Source. https://find-and-update.company-information.service.gov.uk/company/16233555/persons-with-significant-control

Follow-up / status. Map subsidiaries/locations, clients, accounts and related Montenegro entities.

E137 — Cottrell direct Farage support

Subject: George Cottrell / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2024-2026 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Farage's registers/reporting record at least a £9,253 Belgium trip and a £15,276 US domestic flight funded by Cottrell; later reporting says Cottrell also funded staff, security and accommodation before Farage became an MP.

What it establishes. Shows Cottrell materially supported Farage personally/politically in the modern Reform era.

Caveat. Some pre-election support is disputed as to whether it was registrable political support or personal gifts.

Source type. Parliamentary register + Guardian/ITV reporting

Source. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm/cmregmem/240930/farage_nigel.htm ; https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/05/nigel-farage-did-not-declare-gifts-from-crypto-entrepreneur-george-cottrell-says-reform-uk

Follow-up / status. Create itemised benefits ledger with dates and declaration status.

E138 — Cottrell-to-Fiona transfers

Subject: George Cottrell / Fiona Cottrell / Reform UK **Date:** 2024-05 to 2024-06 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Guardian sources say George transferred $2,047,693 to Fiona through crypto-exchange/money-service routes 24-72 hours before her Reform/Britain Means Business donations totalling roughly £1.5m in 2024.

What it establishes. Creates a tight temporal donor-provenance question directly linking George's money to Fiona immediately before political donations.

Caveat. Police investigation is ongoing; no offence proved and no Russian origin established.

Source type. Guardian financial-source reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/29/george-cottrell-transferred-2m-mother-beforer-reform-uk-donations

Follow-up / status. Build exact transfer/donation timeline and await police/CPS outcome.

E139 — Cottrell police/donation scrutiny

Subject: Fiona Cottrell / George Cottrell / Reform UK **Date:** 2025-02 onward **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Reuters reports Metropolitan Police investigation of £500,000 Fiona Cottrell donations for possible donor-concealment offences; two people questioned, no arrests at reporting date.

What it establishes. Confirms live criminal-investigation status around part of the Cottrell-family donation route.

Caveat. Investigation is not proof of wrongdoing; identities of those questioned should not be assumed unless officially confirmed.

Source type. Reuters / Met statement reported

Source. https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/british-police-investigate-donations-farages-reform-party-2026-07-10/

Follow-up / status. Track official police/CPS outcome.

E140 — Cottrell Montenegro corporate network

Subject: George Cottrell / Private Family Office / Artemon / Vegaplus / GFS **Date:** 2020-2026 **Grade:** C/B

Proposition. Byline Times' 2026 investigation maps Cottrell's Montenegro company administration through Artemon and overlapping Tivat corporate-service firms; public reporting says the same service network administers entities tied to other Reform figures.

What it establishes. Identifies a concrete corporate-services ecosystem around Cottrell that can be tested one degree further.

Caveat. Service-provider overlap does not establish that clients know one another or share counterparties.

Source type. Investigative reporting based on Montenegro corporate filings

Source. https://bylinetimes.com/2026/07/27/how-george-cottrells-reform-uk-network-in-montenegro-is-tied-to-sanctioned-russian-oligarchs/

Follow-up / status. Obtain Montenegro registry filings for PFO, Artemon, Vegaplus, GFS and directors.

E141 — Montenegro network Russian-arms adjacency

Subject: Artemon / Vegaplus / Princip Spec / Danilo Vukovic **Date:** 2019-2026 **Grade:** C/B

Proposition. Byline Times reports senior Artemon/Vegaplus personnel who service Cottrell-linked entities also represent Princip Spec, a Serbian defence company whose catalogue marketed Russian-designed/Soviet-era systems including the 9M133 Kornet.

What it establishes. Creates a second-degree Russia/arms-trade adjacency in Cottrell's corporate-services network.

Caveat. No evidence Cottrell dealt with Princip Spec, Russian weapons, or knew of the service-provider's other clients.

Source type. Investigative reporting + cited company catalogue

Source. https://bylinetimes.com/2026/07/27/how-george-cottrells-reform-uk-network-in-montenegro-is-tied-to-sanctioned-russian-oligarchs/

Follow-up / status. Primary-register/catalogue verification required before prominent publication.

E142 — Montenegro network sanctioned-oligarch adjacency

Subject: Cottrell service network / Russian state-linked enterprises / sanctioned oligarchs **Date:** pre-2026 **Grade:** C

Proposition. Byline Times reports the wider accounting/corporate-services network connected to Cottrell-linked firms has Moscow partnerships and clients/partners with ties to sanctioned Russian oligarchs/state-linked enterprises.

What it establishes. Provides a high-value lead for sanctions/counterparty mapping around Cottrell's corporate environment.

Caveat. This is multiple degrees removed; must not be described as a Cottrell-Russian-oligarch relationship without a direct transaction/contact.

Source type. Investigative reporting

Source. https://bylinetimes.com/2026/07/27/how-george-cottrells-reform-uk-network-in-montenegro-is-tied-to-sanctioned-russian-oligarchs/

Follow-up / status. Reconstruct every edge from registry/sanctions records and discard unproved links.

E143 — Cottrell crypto betting source-of-funds question

Subject: George Cottrell **Date:** 2024-2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. FT reporting says a betting account in Cottrell's name received about $9m in crypto from unidentified sources in late 2024, made large Trump-election bets and generated substantial profits while Cottrell was also funding Farage-related costs.

What it establishes. Creates a current source-of-funds/provenance question around Cottrell's wealth and political support.

Caveat. Unidentified crypto sources are not evidence of Russian funds; account ownership/beneficial source and third-party interests remain disputed/unresolved.

Source type. Financial Times

Source. https://www.ft.com/content/b74cbc54-c6ae-4f4a-9350-3dab1f2758d0

Follow-up / status. Trace wallet provenance using high-quality blockchain analysis; do not infer nationality from crypto flows.

E144 — Reform adopts crypto donations

Subject: Reform UK / Nigel Farage **Date:** 2025-05-29 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Farage announced at the Bitcoin Conference in Las Vegas that Reform UK would accept Bitcoin and other cryptocurrency donations from eligible UK donors; the party website opened a crypto-donation route using a third-party compliance provider.

What it establishes. Establishes Reform as the first major UK party publicly to enable crypto donations.

Caveat. Does not establish any crypto donation was foreign, impermissible or Russian; reported large Harborne donations were not identified as crypto donations.

Source type. Reform policy document + contemporaneous reporting

Source. https://www.reformparty.uk/Reform-crypto-bill.pdf ; https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2025/may/29/reform-uk-to-accept-donations-via-bitcoin-nigel-farage-says

Follow-up / status. Record totals/provenance of any crypto donations and treatment after 25 Mar 2026.

E145 — Reform crypto receipts remain below reporting threshold

Subject: Reform UK / Electoral Commission **Date:** 2025-2026 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. House of Commons Library reported that Farage had alluded to Reform receiving 'a couple' of crypto donations, while the Electoral Commission said no party had reported a cryptoasset donation at the reportable threshold in evidence available by early 2026.

What it establishes. Shows the crypto route was used or claimed to have been used, but not at a level publicly reportable as a cryptoasset donation.

Caveat. Does not establish exact number/value/source of the donations.

Source type. House of Commons Library / Electoral Commission evidence

Source. https://commonslibrary.parliament.uk/research-briefings/cbp-10443/

Follow-up / status. Seek Reform/Radom records and any returns/forfeitures after the moratorium.

E146 — Rycroft Review foreign-interference finding

Subject: UK Government / Philip Rycroft **Date:** 2026-03-25 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The independent Rycroft Review, commissioned after Gill's sentencing, concluded from briefings by security services, police and regulators that foreign interference in UK politics is 'real and persistent' and cited Russia, China and Iran as long-term strategic interference threats.

What it establishes. Provides an official post-Gill assessment that the vulnerabilities examined in this report are systemic and current, not merely historical.

Caveat. The review did not make a criminal finding against Farage or Reform and assessed the political-finance system generally.

Source type. GOV.UK independent review

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics

Follow-up / status. Use as core institutional-context finding.

E147 — Rycroft crypto moratorium recommendation

Subject: UK Government / political parties **Date:** 2026-03-25 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Rycroft warned that cryptoassets could be used to channel foreign money into UK politics, citing tracing, ultimate ownership, threshold-splitting and capability concerns; Recommendation 3 called for a moratorium on all political crypto donations until regulation and oversight were sufficient.

What it establishes. Directly intersects with Reform's decision to accept crypto donations from May 2025.

Caveat. Does not imply Reform's crypto donations were foreign or illicit.

Source type. GOV.UK independent review

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics

Follow-up / status. Include in Chapter 10 and official-review chapter.

E148 — Government accepts Rycroft core reforms

Subject: UK Government / political parties **Date:** 2026-03 to 2026-07 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Government accepted Rycroft's core recommendations, including a proposed £100,000 annual cap on donations/loans from overseas electors, a crypto-donation moratorium intended to apply retrospectively from 25 March 2026, strengthened 'know your donor' checks, profit-based corporate donation tests and donor declarations.

What it establishes. Shows the state treated the post-Gill vulnerabilities as serious enough to require major legal reform.

Caveat. Measures remain subject to legislation/commencement where applicable; should not be described as all already in force.

Source type. GOV.UK government response

Source. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-rycroft-review-hm-government-response/the-rycroft-review-hm-government-response-accessible-version

Follow-up / status. Track final Representation of the People Act/Bill status before later editions.

E149 — TBIJ donation-controls stress test

Subject: Reform UK / major UK parties **Date:** 2024-07 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. The Bureau of Investigative Journalism structured multiple sub-£500 payments from a person not on the electoral roll. Reform UK, Conservatives, Liberal Democrats, Greens and SNP accepted the payments; Labour blocked them. Rycroft later cited the experiment as evidence of donation-control vulnerability.

What it establishes. Demonstrates in practice that Reform's donation controls, like those of several other parties, could be bypassed by structured impermissible payments.

Caveat. Does not show Reform knowingly accepted hostile-state or foreign money; parties disputed aspects of the legal interpretation.

Source type. TBIJ investigation cited by Rycroft Review

Source. https://www.thebureauinvestigates.com/stories/2024-07-02/five-parties-accept-illegal-donations-exposing-flaws-in-foreign-influence-rules ; https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics/the-rycroft-review-report-of-the-independent-review-into-countering-foreign-financial-influence-and-interference-in-uk-politics

Follow-up / status. Ask Reform what controls changed after the test.

E150 — JCNSS political-finance warning

Subject: UK Parliament / Joint Committee on National Security Strategy **Date:** 2026-03-18 to 2026-07-15 **Grade:** A

Proposition. The Joint Committee on the National Security Strategy warned that UK political finance faced growing foreign-influence risks and recommended a crypto moratorium, tougher corporate/source-of-funds rules and stronger enforcement; government and Electoral Commission responses broadly accepted the need for reform.

What it establishes. Independent parliamentary corroboration of the regulatory vulnerabilities identified by Rycroft.

Caveat. System-level finding, not evidence against any named Reform individual.

Source type. UK Parliament committee report and responses

Source. https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt5901/jtselect/jtnatsec/720/report.html ; https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt5902/jtselect/jtnatsec/562/report.html

Follow-up / status. Use alongside Rycroft in Chapter 12.

E151 — Cottrell/Tice finance

Subject: George Cottrell / Fiona Cottrell / Richard Tice / Britain Means Business **Date:** 2024-05 to 2024-06 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Financial-industry reporting says George Cottrell transferred $2,047,693 to Fiona Cottrell in three tranches, each about 24-72 hours before a political payment; the largest reported transfer, about $1.4m, preceded Fiona's £1.075m payment to Richard Tice-controlled Britain Means Business on 10 June 2024.

What it establishes. Adds an upstream source-of-funds layer linking George-to-Fiona transfers temporally to Fiona's Reform-related payments.

Caveat. Does not prove Fiona was a proxy donor, George was the legal donor, or any offence occurred; ownership, purpose and control remain for investigators.

Source type. Guardian / Financial Times financial-source reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/29/george-cottrell-transferred-2m-mother-beforer-reform-uk-donations

Follow-up / status. Build exact transfer/payment timeline and track Met/CPS outcome.

E152 — Cottrell/Tice finance

Subject: Fiona Cottrell / Britain Means Business / Reform UK **Date:** 2024-06-10 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Fiona Cottrell reportedly paid £1.075m to Britain Means Business Ltd, a company controlled by Richard Tice; £500,000 was then donated onward to Reform UK.

What it establishes. Shows a substantial Reform-related funding route through a Tice-controlled entity rather than an arm's-length external donor.

Caveat. No authoritative finding says Britain Means Business knowingly concealed an impermissible donor or that the payments were unlawful.

Source type. Companies House + FT/Guardian reporting

Source. https://www.ft.com/content/4abf8011-5570-4ad7-9170-fa655295070a

Follow-up / status. Keep company-control and source-of-funds facts adjacent.

E153 — Cottrell/Tice finance

Subject: Britain Means Business / TISUN Investments / Richard Tice **Date:** 2024-06-10 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Financial Times reporting says that on the same day Fiona Cottrell's £1.075m reached Britain Means Business, £200,000 was repaid on a loan involving Richard Tice's separate company TISUN Investments, while £500,000 went to Reform.

What it establishes. Makes Britain Means Business a central node connecting third-party funds, Reform political funding and Tice-related finance on the same date.

Caveat. Timing alone does not establish that Fiona's money legally funded the TISUN repayment or that an unlawful arrangement existed.

Source type. Financial Times

Source. https://www.ft.com/content/4abf8011-5570-4ad7-9170-fa655295070a

Follow-up / status. Seek transaction documents and accounting treatment.

E154 — Related-party finance

Subject: Richard Tice / TISUN Investments / Reform UK **Date:** 2021-2025 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Richard Tice is director of TISUN Investments. FT analysis found about £613,000 recorded as Reform donations in Q1 2025 largely reflected conversion of historic TISUN loans rather than fresh cash; historic Reform debt to TISUN was reported at about £1.08m.

What it establishes. Shows part of Reform's headline fundraising reflected related-party loan conversion and clarifies the financial relationship between Tice and the party.

Caveat. Loan conversion is not itself improper; it must not be described as hidden fresh cash.

Source type. Companies House + Financial Times analysis

Source. https://www.ft.com/

Follow-up / status. Use in related-party finance explanation.

E155 — Cottrell context

Subject: George Cottrell / Lawrence Burke Files **Date:** 2026-02 **Grade:** B

Proposition. George Cottrell co-authored How to Launder Money: A Guide for Law Enforcement, Prosecutors and Policymakers. Reporting on its 'Art of the Bribe' chapter describes friendship, small gifts and payment of expenses as possible influence mechanisms; Nigel Farage and senior Reform figures attended the launch.

What it establishes. Provides unusual contextual material because Cottrell separately provided Farage with significant non-cash benefits and expenses.

Caveat. The book is an anti-financial-crime work and is not evidence Cottrell bribed Farage; the parallel justifies scrutiny, not an accusation.

Source type. Publisher + Financial Times/reporting

Source. https://www.bitebackpublishing.com/books/how-to-launder-money

Follow-up / status. Use only in explicitly labelled context box.

E156 — Farage knowledge

Subject: Nigel Farage / Nathan Gill **Date:** 2018-2019; admission 2025-10 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Farage said Nathan Gill and a colleague invited him to join a Ukraine trip; Farage says he declined and told Gill not to go.

What it establishes. Establishes advance contemporaneous knowledge by Farage of at least one Gill Ukraine trip and a personal conversation about it.

Caveat. Does not establish Farage knew the trip's organisers, funding, media work or bribery purpose; exact trip/date remains to be fixed.

Source type. Farage interview / ITV Wales

Source. https://www.itv.com/news/wales/2025-10-10/nigel-farage-betrayed-by-ex-reform-leader-in-wales-who-took-pro-russian-bribes

Follow-up / status. Promote to core Farage-knowledge chapter.

E157 — Gill Moscow continuation

Subject: Nathan Gill / Civic Chamber of Russian Federation / Moscow State University **Date:** 2021-09 **Grade:** A

Proposition. Official conference material identifies Gill as a scheduled speaker at a Moscow election-technology conference on 15 September 2021, with a paper titled 'The Same Technology That Gives Us Crypto Currencies Also Will Change the Way That We Vote'.

What it establishes. Identifies the scientific conference Gill said he was travelling to when stopped at Manchester Airport and shows an intended election-technology speaking role.

Caveat. Does not establish the trip was connected to the earlier bribery scheme, who paid for travel, or Gill's exact Reform membership status then.

Source type. Official conference programme

Source. https://ruspolitology.ru/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/Conf.-prog.-elect.-eng..pdf

Follow-up / status. Core post-MEP continuation section.

E158 — Medvedchuk event continuity

Subject: Nathan Gill / Nicolas Bay / Viktor Medvedchuk **Date:** 2019-07 to 2021-09 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Nicolas Bay was publicly identified with Nathan Gill as an inviter of Viktor Medvedchuk to the July 2019 Strasbourg event and appears again in the official 2021 Moscow conference programme in the same digital-election round-table as Gill.

What it establishes. Documents continuity of at least one political associate between the Medvedchuk parliamentary-access episode and Gill's intended Moscow appearance.

Caveat. Does not imply Bay knew of Gill's bribery or that the two events formed one operation.

Source type. Contemporaneous 2019 reporting + official 2021 programme

Source. https://fr.sputniknews.africa/20190717/le-donbass-sera-t-il-autonome-en-ukraine-cest-le-prix-de-la-paix-selon-viktor-medvedchouk-1041702846.html

Follow-up / status. Use as continuity, with explicit non-complicity caveat.

E159 — Gill recruitment pipeline

Subject: Nathan Gill / Janusz Niedźwiecki / ECDHR / 112 Ukraine / NewsOne **Date:** 2018-2019 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. Specialist documentary research reconstructs a pre-bribery pipeline involving Gill's spring 2018 Ukraine activity, September 2018 Moldova trip, externally funded October 2018 Kyiv fact-finding trip and February 2019 creation of a NewsOne/112 Ukraine International Editorial Board.

What it establishes. Shows Gill's Russia/Ukraine-facing activity and access-building materially predated the proven December 2018 bribery period and became institutionalised through media/parliamentary mechanisms.

Caveat. The complete payer/controller chain is not primary-proved at every link; distinguish EP declarations from specialist reconstruction.

Source type. European Parliament declarations + EPDE study

Source. https://epde.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/Anton-Shekhovtsov-The-Rise-and-Fall-of-a-Polish-Agent-of-the-Kremlin-Influence.pdf

Follow-up / status. Promote to standalone pre-bribery chapter.

E160 — Banks/Farage knowledge

Subject: Nigel Farage / Arron Banks / Andy Wigmore **Date:** 2015-2018 **Grade:** A/B

Proposition. By June 2018 Farage was publicly questioning Arron Banks and Andy Wigmore about their Russian Embassy contacts and the Trump-transition contact handover; he also said he knew about the first ambassador meeting because he had been invited but declined.

What it establishes. Fixes Farage's knowledge of the first embassy contact and the wider allegations by 2018, while narrowing what remains unknown about 2015-16.

Caveat. Does not establish that Farage knew about later meetings, business offers or the Cottrell transfer contemporaneously.

Source type. LBC interview / High Court chronology

Source. https://www.bailii.org/ew/cases/EWHC/QB/2022/1417.html

Follow-up / status. Core knowledge-timeline section.

E161 — Cottrell/Tice finance

Subject: Fiona Cottrell / Britain Means Business / Richard Tice / Oneify **Date:** 2024-06-10 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Reporting says Fiona Cottrell's £1.075m payment to Britain Means Business was routed via Australian money-exchange service Oneify; bankers queried the origin with Richard Tice. Later reporting says Fiona had received about $1.4m from George Cottrell 24–72 hours earlier.

What it establishes. Adds routing and source-of-funds detail to the June 2024 Britain Means Business flow.

Caveat. Does not prove George Cottrell was the beneficial donor, that Oneify was improper, or that Richard Tice knowingly accepted impermissible funds.

Source type. Guardian financial-industry source reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/29/george-cottrell-transferred-2m-mother-beforer-reform-uk-donations ; https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/09/five-pressing-questions-farage-reform-uk-finances

Follow-up / status. Retain as core transaction chronology; seek bank/accounting records.

E162 — Cottrell/Tice loan

Subject: George Cottrell / Richard Tice / TISUN Investments **Date:** 2024-12-02 to 2025-02 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Financial-industry sources said £78,100 from George Cottrell reached TISUN Investments on 2 Dec 2024 as a short-term bridging loan; roughly £92,000 was sent the same day toward a Dubai property purchase, with total December property payments around £650,000. TISUN donated £613,000 to Reform on 7 Jan 2025. About £655,000 was reportedly returned to TISUN on 24 Feb as a property overpayment after mortgage finance, followed by an £80,000 payment to George Cottrell.

What it establishes. Establishes a later direct financial relationship between George Cottrell and a Richard Tice company and fixes the transaction sequence around a major TISUN political donation.

Caveat. Timing does not prove the Cottrell loan financed the Reform donation or that the property/donation/repayment sequence was unlawful.

Source type. Guardian financial-industry source reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/08/untold-story-why-reform-figures-face-nca-scrutiny-nigel-farage

Follow-up / status. Core modern-finance chronology; obtain primary bank/property/loan records.

E163 — Financial-intelligence scrutiny

Subject: Reform UK / Richard Tice / George Cottrell / Fiona Cottrell / NCA **Date:** 2024-2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Reporting says bankers filed suspicious activity reports concerning multiple Reform-linked transactions, including the Britain Means Business flow and the George Cottrell-TISUN loan; the NCA reportedly sought assistance from a foreign partner agency to trace the original source of Britain Means Business funds.

What it establishes. Establishes formal financial-intelligence reporting and cross-border source-of-funds inquiry around several transactions.

Caveat. A SAR is not proof of money laundering or any offence; NCA intelligence activity must be distinguished from the Metropolitan Police criminal investigation.

Source type. Guardian financial-industry source reporting

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/08/more-reform-uk-transactions-worth-millions-reported-to-national-agency ; https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2026/jul/08/untold-story-why-reform-figures-face-nca-scrutiny-nigel-farage

Follow-up / status. Track NCA/Met outcomes and foreign-partner response.

E164 — Parliamentary standards boundary

Subject: Richard Tice / George Cottrell **Date:** 2024-12; decision 2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Reporting says the Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards declined to open an investigation into whether Richard Tice should have declared the George Cottrell bridging loan.

What it establishes. Provides important counter-evidence and separates parliamentary declaration rules from banking/political-finance scrutiny.

Caveat. A decision not to investigate parliamentary registration does not adjudicate money laundering, donor permissibility or other legal questions.

Source type. Guardian reporting of standards decision

Source. https://www.theguardian.com/uk-news/2026/jul/29/richard-tice-reform-loan-george-cottrell-investigation-standards-watchdog

Follow-up / status. Retain adjacent to loan allegation as balancing evidence.

E165 — Gill/Farage organisational proximity

Subject: Nathan Gill / Nigel Farage **Date:** European Parliament period; reported 2026 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Luke Harding reports that Gill and Farage had adjoining European Parliament offices and records a former UKIP MEP describing Gill as being in the thick of organising and Farage's right-hand figure.

What it establishes. Strengthens evidence that Gill occupied meaningful organisational proximity to Farage rather than being merely a passing acquaintance.

Caveat. Does not establish Farage knew of Gill's bribery, Russian-linked payments or Voloshyn's instructions.

Source type. Named journalist/book reconstruction + former colleague source

Source. https://www.thenerve.news/p/luke-harding-betrayal-book-extract-nathan-gill-ukip-reform-voloshyn-bribes-russia

Follow-up / status. Use as relationship context; do not convert proximity into knowledge.

E166 — Gill influence operation mechanics

Subject: Nathan Gill / Oleh Voloshyn / Nadia Sass **Date:** 2018-12 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Harding reports that Voloshyn sent Gill a draft speech on 7 Dec 2018 and an updated version on the Strasbourg plenary day; Sass interviewed Gill outside Parliament for 112 Ukraine.

What it establishes. Adds day-level mechanics showing how scripted parliamentary material was repurposed into pro-Russian media output.

Caveat. Secondary reconstruction should remain subordinate to the criminal case and primary message evidence where available.

Source type. Journalistic reconstruction drawing on messages/case material

Source. https://www.thenerve.news/p/luke-harding-betrayal-book-extract-nathan-gill-ukip-reform-voloshyn-bribes-russia

Follow-up / status. Retain as operational reconstruction.

E167 — 112 Ukraine recruitment network

Subject: Nathan Gill / David Coburn / Jonathan Arnott / 112 Ukraine **Date:** 2018 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Harding reports that Gill, David Coburn and Jonathan Arnott visited 112 Ukraine's Kyiv studios and that Gill and Coburn agreed to join the channel's international board; he describes eight British MEPs appearing on the channel using Voloshyn-linked themes.

What it establishes. Broadens the documented influence ecosystem beyond Gill alone and shows recruitment/amplification through a media platform associated with Viktor Medvedchuk.

Caveat. Does not establish that the other MEPs were bribed or knew of Gill's corrupt arrangement.

Source type. Journalistic reconstruction

Source. https://www.thenerve.news/p/luke-harding-betrayal-book-extract-nathan-gill-ukip-reform-voloshyn-bribes-russia

Follow-up / status. Retain with explicit non-transfer-of-guilt caveat.

E168 — Current legal / institutional response

Subject: Nigel Farage / Richard Tice / National Crime Agency **Date:** 2026-08 **Grade:** B

Proposition. Nigel Farage and Richard Tice filed High Court proceedings against the National Crime Agency alleging unlawful leaking of confidential banking information connected with suspicious activity reports; the NCA said its Professional Standards Unit was examining their complaints.

What it establishes. Records the subjects' current legal response to publication of SAR-related information and the NCA's internal response.

Caveat. The litigation concerns alleged disclosure of confidential information and does not determine the provenance or legality of the underlying transactions.

Source type. Financial Times reporting

Source. https://www.ft.com/content/1973ce2a-1afc-4333-963b-34eeda07233a

Follow-up / status. Retain as balancing/current-status evidence; update if the proceedings produce findings.